

REPUBLICAN PARTY 1860

DRAWER 9 CANDIDATE CONVENTION 1860

71.2009 085.0000



# Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

## Republican Party 1860

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

# Commercial Register

Published Daily, Tri-Weekly & Weekly  
BY HENRY D. COOKE AND C. C. BILL.

**SANDUSKY, OHIO,**

**SATURDAY MORNING, NOV. 6, 1858.**

## **Lincoln for President.**

We are indebted to a friend at Mansfield for the following special dispatch :

"MANSFIELD, Nov. 5th, 1858.

"EDITOR SANDUSKY REGISTER :—An enthusiastic meeting is in progress here to-night in favor of Lincoln for the next Republican candidate for President.  
Reporter."

## **The Result in Michigan.**

We are ashamed of the work of the Republicans of Michigan, and we believe they are by this time ashamed of it themselves. They were able to have done better than they did at the late election. They have only a majority of from 6,000 to 10,000 on the State ticket.— This majority should have been from 15,000 to 20,000. The Republicans of Michigan, had they only disregarded the storm and the polls, could have secured a larger majority.



# REPUBLICANISM IN KENTUCKY.

## THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT EXPLAINED.

### DEMOCRACY AND DISUNION.

#### SPEECH OF CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Delivered on the Capitol steps at Frankfort, Jan. 10.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

Governor Magoffin in his message, and Vice-President Breckinridge before the Kentucky Legislature, assailed the principles and aims of the Republican party. Those Mr. Clay aspired to defend. Following the event of John Brown's raid and execution, the aggression of *The Free South* newspaper at Newport by violence, the expulsion of John G. Fee and associates from Madison County, Kentucky, and the design on the part of the Slave Oligarchy to perpetuate the reign of terror in all the South, it was generally given out that Mr. Clay would be silenced. The halter with which John Brown was hung, the bloody lance which he died in battle—a present from Gov. Wise to Gov. Magoffin—was freely handed about in Frankfort. While the central journal openly put it that if Clay was allowed to speak in the Capitol, Kentuckians would be proved the cowards.

Mr. Clay did not ask for the Representatives Hall; it was generally ceded that by tacit consent he would occupy it, and the door keeper, Mr. Grey, promised to have it open and lighted up. But at the appointed hour the Hall was closed and dark, the night was stormy and a storm threatening, the gas lights of the Hall were darkened, and in the "very immense audience," as described by the reporter of *The Louisville Journal*, none spoke above a whisper. As Mr. Clay rose, innumerable lights were brought and distributed in unknown hands throughout the crowd, and for more than three hours he was listened to amid profound silence or occasional applause. The difficulty of tracing his references makes the report of the speech lose much of its unity; but truth is considered of more importance than rhetorical arrangement.

KENTUCKIANS!—That most profound and philosophical historian, in my opinion, of all ages—Ribbon—speaks of courage, and sincerity, or its equivalent, truth, as the greatest of human virtue. The brave man, relying on his courage, never questions that of another. Those who know me, know full well I am not in the habit of speaking of my courage, nor have I indulged in that other—what I consider a bad habit of Kentuckians in general—of speaking of their courage. I will, however, transgress my ordinary rule and speak of it to-night. If I thought—if I had thought that you, whose blood has illustrated every battle-field from the beginning of our government to this day, were wanting in that virtue, and if I did not know that your illustrious ancestors, beginning with Boone and Kenton, down to this day, possessed this virtue; that I was in the line of the McKees, the Marshalls, the Davises, the Robinsons, the Clarkes, the Breckinridges, the Clays, the Crittendens, and a host of other men that have made you illustrious among men, then I might question your courage; but, it is because that I know that I am here, and among such men and in Kentucky, that I speak here to-night. The brave are always generous—always! and placing implicit confidence in this great fundamental truth, I have never feared to go forth through all this broad and glorious land of ours, relying upon the justice and magnanimity of Kentuckians. I never asked, I never cared, whether they were Democrats, Republicans, Americans, or of any other party denomination. Thank God, gentlemen, this trust of mine has never been falsified. Whether I stand in your State House or whether I stand outside of your State House—whether I am surrounded by light or covered by darkness, I feel equally safe while I am among Kentuckians.

Gentlemen, there are some peculiar circumstances attending this, my address to-night, that call for allusions that I am not in the habit of making. It has been said—I know not what is the position and power and influence and talent and integrity of the party from whom it came—that if Cass. Clay was allowed to speak to-night in the city of Frankfort, the world would believe the Kentuckians are cowards, and that as John Brown had intimidated, or "scared," to use the word, Virginia, so it would go on that I had intimidated the million of such men of Kentucky as surround me to-night. Gentlemen, what madness, what folly is this! It is because you are brave—it is because your courage is unquestioned and unquestion-

able, that there is a confidence abroad not only among men, but among women and little children, that I will speak here to-night, and be not only heard but respectfully treated. Shame on such a sentiment as that! How would it do for you, whose name has become synonymous with the word courage, to hear it said that you went to silence the voice of Cass. Clay in death to prove that you are men? I will not elaborate this idea. The very women shun none of this intimidation. You all know it, that I have always stood fairly and squarely upon the Constitution and the laws, that I have ever been obedient to law, a law and order man.

#### THE MADISON COUNTY MOBS.

Now, gentlemen, for a few personal explanations, before I enter upon the vindication of the Republican party. Allow me here to state what has been and what yet is my position in my own county. There are distinguished gentlemen here, members of the Legislature, and outside of the Legislative body of Madison, and they know that that which I say is so, is truth. I allude to the expulsion of the Rev. John G. Fee of Kentucky, and some nineteen other citizens of the Commonwealth by birth and choice, from their homes; and their departure into exile.

Some three years since, on the Fourth day of July, when Mr. Fee returned again to the State after a temporary absence, he took the ground of what may be called the Radical Abolition party, that as a citizen of the Commonwealth, he owed no allegiance to the Constitution and laws adopted and enacted on the subject of Slavery, and that he planted himself on the higher law of natural right. Although I acceded to him, that which I now believe and still assert, that he was honest—that he was pure in his purpose, that he was actuated by the highest love of Christian charity, yet it was not the ground upon which I stood, as I was a Constitution and law-loving man, I argued to him that I could not and should no longer stand by him, that I owed it to myself, and owed it to those laboring men of the country who held no slaves, whose cause I pleaded, and who confided in my leadership, to say to them that his was an unsafe and untenable position, and one which no man can hold; that it would immediately bring them into conflict with the laws of the country, and that that position, no matter by whom strengthened, could not be maintained. That is what I told him and them. Well now, I am no Don Quixote to go forward and fight the battles of every man who may venture an opinion upon the subject of Slavery; and as I to be accused as a seditious man and denounced by others as a bully because I was willing to stand by those men who took and maintained the ground that I had taught them to stand upon? I put it to every man that hears me if it would not have been base in me, after I persuaded men comparatively ignorant to come out and take ground against Slavery, if I had deserted them? Although I love life as much as any man, and have perhaps as much to live for as any man, I would die ten thousand deaths before I would be guilty of such base ingratitude. I say this, that wherever a man, planting himself on the broad constitutional ground of our fathers of 1776, follows me, I will stand by and defend him to the best of my ability, and give him such protection as I can, when the laws of the country refuse to give him what the Constitution guarantees to him as his right. Therefore I could not stand by Fee and his associates. I believe he is as pure a man as ever I knew; yet I did not believe his position was tenable, and I was not willing to take ground with him. I not only proclaimed this on the stump, but at a later day, when I was assailed by men sympathizing with him, coming from other portions of the United States, if I could not conscientiously lend him my aid and countenance in carrying on his work, and enforcing his doctrines, I declined by letter, announcing that I could not stand upon the platform of Mr. Fee; upon that ground we must split. He was responsible for his acts, and I for mine. That has been my whole course in connection with these parties.

It is untrue—it is absolutely and entirely untrue—on the other side, that I said that these men ought to be expelled from the Commonwealth. My position was one of strict neutrality. I said that while I was willing to see these men removed by law, if they violated any law, I was the sworn and eternal enemy of mobs, come they from what source they might. As soon as I heard that my name was connected with this transaction in that way—that I, who had fought against some eight or ten mobs, had come and sanctioned a mob—I immediately wrote to the editors of *The Richmond Messenger* and *The Cincinnati Gazette* utterly denying it, and stating my views. What was the result? I was told eight days after it was done, and that, with the influence of my name, he of *The Messenger* received my letter. In eight days he received my letter, at a distance of about an hour's ride from my office. That was what Judge Field told me, the day before I left. I have inquired with regard to the other letter to *The Cincinnati Gazette*, and have learned that there has been no such letter received in that quarter.

#### LEE AND JOHN BROWN.

What further? Mr. Lee is stated here as sanctioning the raid of Brown upon Virginia. [A voice on the outskirts—"Hurrah for Brown!"] Let us be honest! Lee is an exile; he is a native Kentuckian; he has away from this, explained himself; and I have received a report of the speech at Brooklyn, and he there stated that while he admitted the self-consecration—or in other

words the devotion—of John Brown, he did not approve of his course, nor of his way of settling the Slavery question; in other words, he was opposed to insurrection. It was his view of the matter that he should go to slaveholders, and by argument induce them, and, by the force of divine teaching, persuade them to relinquish their hold upon the slaves.

#### A SORRY HOAX.

Well, gentlemen, the report reaches us of boxes of Sharp's rifles having been transported through the ordinary channels of commerce to Feren. After these men are removed, we are now told that this was all a hoax. All I have to say about that is that it was a very sorry hoax. A sorry hoax as far as Lee is concerned, doing him great injustice, imputing to him







## JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS IN TOWN.

### The Republican Stamp Lecturers on the Move— Mr. Giddings on "The Duties of Human Government"—Excelling Scenes in Congress—The Crises of the Government,

&c.

&c.

&c.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in Forsyth street was well filled last evening to listen to the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, who was received with enthusiastic applause, and spoke as follows:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—The subject to which your attention has been invited for this brief hour is, as has been announced to you, scenes in Congressional Life. It is due to myself, however, that I should say that I do not travel through the country nor address audiences for the mere purpose of attracting momentary attention. My design is to impress upon those who listen to me the importance of what I deem great and enduring principles—principles which lie at the basis of our government, without which we have no hope of maintaining our free institutions. The scenes to which I am about to call your attention arose from the regaining of rights which had been abandoned by those who had swayed the administration of our government. I may remark, by way of illustration, that at no age of the world has despotism ruled the destinies of men with such unbridled sway as when the Pope, professing to be the Vicergerent of God upon earth, usurped domination over the temporal as well as the spiritual government of the earth—over the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of mankind. And among the first fruits of the great Reformation, was the partial separation of the spiritual from the temporal governments of the world; and when the domination of the church was removed—I now speak of the church of that day—the minds of philosophers and statesmen began to investigate the rights which man held from his Creator, to ascertain what they were, in order that governments should be based upon those principles which were great, immutable and eternal. In their investigations they attempted to be guided by inviolable truth, and they arrived gradually to great and important results. Those results were proclaimed by our government at its baptismal font. Our fathers, the statesmen of the United States, had long turned their attention to the philosophy which had originated in Germany, and which had occupied the attention of writers of the Christian world for a century and a half. We have a particular satisfaction at this day in looking back to that period, the Fourth of July, 1776, when our fathers in convention assembled stood forth before the Christian world the representatives of this mighty nation and acknowledged that all the rights of men are derived from their Creator—that human governments are established to secure the enjoyment of those rights. It is a part of the record of the history of this government, that after the government had been established upon those great immutable and eternal principles, the administration perverted and prostituted it to the purpose of destroying and overturning the very principles upon which it had been established. I know that you will at once say that I am charging upon this government crimes—that I am charging crimes upon those who administer it. In that you are not mistaken, for I do. (Applause.) I say unhesitatingly that the powers of this government, which were ordained by our fathers to insure the enjoyment of life, have been prostituted to the destruction of life; the powers which were ordained for the maintenance of liberty were prostituted to the enslavement of men. Nero himself could scarcely exult in the despotism which has been exercised in this Christian land. That you may not say that I have asserted facts which are not proved by the records of the nation, by the infallible documentary evidence now resting in the archives of the nation, I will repeat, what probably most of you already know, that in 1816 an army was sent to Florida for the purpose of destroying an innocent people who had fled from their professed owners in 1705; more than a century previous. They had fled from oppression and had gone into that Territory, and were there as a colony holding lands under the Spanish crown, and being loyal subjects of the Spanish government, as early as 1737 they were enumerated among the military defences of that Territory. They were there with their wives, their little ones, their flocks and their herds. The generation in South Carolina from which they had fled had passed away. Another generation, and a third, and fourth generation, had passed away. But the slaveholders of Georgia perceived that their complexion was dark, and they were indignant that they should enjoy life, liberty and happiness. So they called upon the federal government to send an army there to capture them and reduce them to slavery; not that a single man of them could be proved to be a slave—and yet two hundred and seventy men and women, charged with no crime and suspected of no offence, were butchered in cold blood by the army of the United States because they loved liberty as you and I love liberty. (Sensation.) Here, then, were the powers of the government, which had been given to insure the enjoyment of life, prostituted to its destruction. To-day this government is sustaining the coastwise slave trade, by which men, women and children are taken from the slavebreeding States and carried south under the colors of the United States, and sold in the barracoons of Orleans and other Southern cities, to go upon the plantations—the sugar plantations, where upon the average are driven so hard that they die in five years; and the

presence of the House. The Speaker made no response, nor did Mr. Adams that day; but on the following day he referred to Mr. Pickens as the combative member from South Carolina. (Laughter.) So on after Mr. Gilmer, of Virginia, drew up a resolution declaring that presenting the petition to the House Mr. Adams had incurred its severest censure. The House soon after adjourned under intense excitement. Before leaving the hall a notice was given that a meeting would be held that evening at the committee room, on Foreign Relations, for the purpose of taking measures in relation to the resolution of censure then pending, to which meeting none but gentlemen from the slaveholding States were invited to attend, without distinction of party. I wish you to mark that, for some have charged me with giving a partisan and political character to my lecture, which is merely a Lyceum lecture. Again, I wish you to notice it, because, whenever the question of slavery is agitated, there is no distinction of party at the South generally. (Applause.) The next day, long before the hour of assembling, the galleries of the House were thronged with men and women to sublocation. All the approaches to it were filled with anxious men and women hoping to hear something upon the subject which had been opened on the preceding day. The lobbies of the House were filled with foreign Ministers and their attaches. Lord Morpeth was a listener throughout the thirteen days' proceedings. All the officers of the government, so far as I could judge, were present. Soon after the House was called to order and the journal was read, the Speaker announced that the order of proceeding would be the consideration of the resolution of censure offered by the gentleman from Virginia. Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, then rose and offered an amendment. Mr. Marshall was then a young man of about thirty two years of age. He had served in the Legislature of his own State, where he had stood forth as the leader of freedom's host, taking the stand in favor of universal emancipation, like Henry Clay, and maintaining it with an eloquence and logic which seemed to me irresistible. He came with laurels fresh and blooming to take his seat in Congress, and was recognized North and South as the leader of the movement in favor of emancipation in the South. He came to Congress under more auspicious circumstances than perhaps any other member west of the Alleghenies. His amendment was, in effect, declaring that Mr. Adams, in presenting his petition, had committed treason against the government and people of the United States, for which he deserved expulsion from that body, but that the House, in its grace and favor, would content itself with an expression of its severest censure. He addressed the House in a speech characteristic of the man—a speech of unrivalled eloquence—for he was as brilliant an orator as I ever listened to, and that was the opinion entertained of him by Mr. Adams. He accused Mr. Adams of maintaining the same sentiment as the petitioners, and then argued that to dissolve this Union was treason, for which he was morally guilty. I am frank to say that, as he proceeded, his argument appeared so irresistible that Southern men seemed encouraged, and looked forward with confidence to the final passage of his amendment, while Northern men seemed disappointed and disheartened under the power of Mr. Marshall's logic. There seemed no possible escape for my venerable friend. When Mr. Marshall had concluded we fondly anticipated that Mr. Adams would rise and by terrible invective overwhelm him and his coadjutors. As he sat down the old man rose. The very movement was dignified. Instead of addressing the Speaker he cast his eyes around the Hall with the benignity of a father looking upon his children. No word was uttered by him, as, with solemn countenance, he surveyed the thronged galleries. His eyes were turned to him. There he stood, a man venerable with age, a man of vast experience, of great learning and high attainments—a man who had served his country with fidelity and patriotism in many and varied stations. He now stood up, with all the honors of an illustrious statesman upon him, arraigned at the bar of the House as a base felon. The slave power had accused him of treason against the government which he had so long served. At length, he turned to the Speaker, and said:—"Sir, I call for the reading of the first paragraph in the Declaration of Independence." The Clerk turned to the desk to find the volume. Again Mr. Adams cast his eyes over the galleries, and with a clearer voice and more distinct enunciation said—"The first paragraph in the Declaration of Independence." By this time the Clerk had found the book, and was opening it to read, as the old man the third time repeated the words in a still more emphatic manner, and with a voice that penetrated the farthest recesses of the gallery. Then, with musical voice, Matthew St. Clair Clark, the Clerk, with a loud and clear tone, commenced reading the introductory part, when he paused as if he wished to know whether he was required to read further, and turned his face toward the old man. "Read on," said Mr. Adams, "about the rights and duties." The Clerk proceeded:—"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." And, as the voice of the Clerk died away Mr. Adams took up the theme, with some slight alteration in the language:—"When any form of government," said he, "becomes destructive of the life, liberty and happiness of any portion of its people, it is the right and the duty of that people to alter or abolish it, and direct its administration in the pathway which," he marked out by its founders. This government, Mr. Speaker, has become destructive of the life of a portion of its people; it has become destructive of the liberty of a portion of its people; it has become destructive of the happiness of a portion of its people, and the people have a right to modify or abolish it, and reorganize its powers in such form as shall secure them in the enjoyment of life, liberty and happiness. Now, sir," said he, "my constituents had the right to send that petition here. They are the sovereigns of this land." I would to God, my friends, that I could impress that sentiment upon every American elector. You are the sovereigns; the public men are your servants. I for-

once one of the finest minds that ever shone in American legislation. Some two weeks after this Mr. Adams was very good naturedly criticising the literature of a report made by Mr. Keim, of Pennsylvania, who resented it with considerable indignation, and retorted upon him with great bitterness. Mr. Adams undertook to return the compliment, but in quite a different style from that he had used in regard to Mr. Marshall. At this moment Mr. Marshall entered the hall, and inquired of Mr. Merriwether what was going on, and being told that Mr. Adams had been assailed by Mr. Keim, and was returning the compliment, he said, "I understand what that means (laughter); permit me to say if he has fallen into Adams' hands, may God have mercy on his soul" (renewed laughter and applause). That trial lasted through thirteen days. On the eighth day, as Mr. Adams was speaking, he had become impatient under the constant interruption by Southern men, among whom was Mr. Smith, of Virginia. He had been a large mail contractor, and at the end of every year he demanded extra compensation until the clerks of the Department had given him the sobriquet of "Extra Billy." (Laughter.) He is the same man, you recollect, who, on last Christmas day, took the egg-hogg in Congress, and now I believe he is called "Egg-nogg Smith." (Laughter.) Mr. Smith arose, and the Speaker said—"The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor." "I know that," said Mr. Smith, "but I want to make a suggestion for the benefit of the gentleman from Massachusetts." Mr. Adams turned around with a scowl, and said, "non tali auxilio"—which means, "I desire no such aid." But Mr. Smith, like many others, had forgotten his Latin, and stood still not knowing what to answer. (Laughter.) Turning to Christopher Morgan, he said—"Morgan, what the devil does that mean?" (Renewed laughter.) Mr. Morgan was something of a wag, and said, "Why, you see the old gentleman has become perfectly enraged, and he is telling you to go to—you know the place where (pointing downwards)—(Great laughter.) Mr. Smith recoiled back into his chair as if he had been shot, and so far as my knowledge goes, never again alluded to the name of the old man until he had been dead seven years. On the twelfth day of the proceedings Mr. Adams commenced comparing New York with Virginia. He spoke of their schools, academies and colleges, and drew a comparison in the numbers of scholars and students in the two States. He compared the commerce of the two States, and in other respects showed the advance which New York had made beyond Virginia. This was an entertainment to which they had not been invited, and Mr. Sanders, of North Carolina, took exceptions and raised a point of order. The speaker said that every speech made on the floor had related to slavery, and he surely could not say that the defendant should have his lips sealed. Mr. Sanders took an appeal, but the House sustained the ruling. Mr. Adams proceeded. Members began to feel that it was becoming a matter of difficulty and to wish themselves out of it. Mr. Merriwether on the thirteenth day arose and spoke of what was said outside about Congress spending all their time in this manner, and he for one was anxious to take the vote at the earliest moment. A gentleman from the South said that Mr. Adams had a right to defend himself, but that he was responsible for the consumption of time, and inquired how long Mr. Adams would probably occupy in completing his defence, saying that he had already spoken some six or eight days—an entire misstatement, by the way, for Mr. Adams was commencing the fourth day. The old man replied, "that the gentleman from Georgia was mistaken in holding him responsible." "I was not consulted," said he, "about this resolution, nor am I responsible for one hour of the time spent on the trial. I will give way at any moment the gentlemen wish to lay the resolution on the table. If I am constrained to argue the case, I shall feel it my duty to bring my remarks to a close at the earliest moment I can do so in justice to myself, to the public, and to the constitution, and if gentlemen will permit me to proceed without so many interruptions, I verily believe I can finish my remarks within the course of ninety days." (Great laughter and applause.) A motion was immediately made to lay the resolution on the table and was carried by a vote of 162 to 93. (Applause.) Mr. Adams triumphed, and from that day forward the right of petition was regained to the American people. (Applause.) True it was that it was not till some time afterwards that the gag rule was repealed, but from that time forward every man felt and knew that no longer could that outrage continue against the people of the United States. I dwell more upon this subject because it was the commencement of that mighty revolution which is bringing about a reformation that is still going on, and which will continue while truth shall exercise its power over the American people. (Applause.) While Mr. Adams regained the right of petition, your humble speaker was engaged in a far more humble sphere of regaining the freedom of debate or the right of speech. Eight weeks from the time to which I have adverted your speaker was arrayed at the same bar. In 1841 the bark Creole left Hampton roads, Virginia, with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves. When it was out some seven days the colored people felt the inspiration of the heaven born truth that they had been endowed by their Creator with the right to life and liberty, and by the power of their own right arm they asserted that right. One of the slaveholders came on deck and drew a pistol. One of the slaves, named Washington, struck him with a hand spike and laid him low in death. (Applause.) It is astonishing that you should cheer such a thing as that. Why should the gallows be roared of its prey? (Laughter.) Slaveholders were struck with horror, and their visages elongated when they heard of it. If I ever thanked God, it was when I found a slave that had dared, in the presence of his dealer, to stand up in his own humanity and strike the death blow to his oppressor. (Loud applause.) I know it, and in these days that you must not speak of the right of man to maintain his life and liberty by violence. My friends, I had two uncles who died upon the battle field for that very cause, to ascertain the right of Americans to life and liberty. (Applause.) I have myself served upon the tented field. I have seen my companions dying around me; and I tell you, as I live, that no man, whether a slave or in any other capacity, ever asked my opinion whether he had a right to liberty, and a right to it notwithstanding his oppressor, but I have said to him, "Have your liberty if in your power." (Applause.) These slaves took possession of the ships and went to the British possessions and went ashore. The



cotton plantations, where they die in seven years. Here are 27,000 human beings annually murdered by this slow torture; and it is upheld and maintained by the government of the United States. To day your representatives and mine, the representatives of the United States, sustain this infamous commerce, which, as a nation, we have pronounced to be piracy upon the shore of the Atlantic, and for which those who perpetrate it there are hung. It will not do for me to trace the slave trade too far; for if I did you might find our own representatives and Senators sustaining a commerce which, according to their own judgment, renders themselves worthy of the gallows and a halter. I feel a degree of delicacy upon that point; because, if it is wrong to rob and steal and murder, and if the man who commits these acts should stand upon the gallows, together with him who strikes the blow, then they who send men to Congress, who tell men that they may deal in the bodies of human beings, and may murder and go quit, though they may be acquitted by the fallible tribunals of man, stand before high Heaven reeking in all the guilt of murder, robbery and theft. (Applause.) This coastwise slave trade was sustained. Slavery in the District of Columbia was sustained, and those men to whom I have referred were brought from Florida to Georgia and South Carolina and enslaved. The persons ordained by government to secure liberty were prostituted to the enslavement of men. The slave trade became, as it were, a part of the institution of slavery. When you sent petitions to Congress, praying Congress to relieve you from the crime and guilt of being parties to this, your representatives in Congress closed their doors against you, saying that you were unworthy to approach your public servants with respectful language upon this great subject with which you found yourselves involved. Your representatives sat there with their lips hermetically sealed, not being permitted by the gag rules of that day to give utterance to your sentiments and the doctrines you cherished. It was in this condition of things that certain individuals throughout the country and in Congress demanded of this federal government a reformation and restoration of the government to its original principles and doctrines. A leader worthy of the age in which he lived, worthy of the station in which he moved, stood forth as the leader of freedom's host—the Hon. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts. (Applause.) Ever true to the great purposes for which government was established—ever devoted to the immutable principles of human rights, of human liberty, with all the advantages he had enjoyed, having been our Minister in foreign courts, better versed in the diplomacy of foreign nations and foreign governments than any other man at that time living in our nation, with great experience, having served in the executive chair, he had brought with him into that high station an influence which no other individual in the United States at that time wielded. With this high devotion and these advantages, he seemed to be the only man that could stand forth and brave the storm of slaveholding and servile wrath which he was constrained to meet, in the regaining of the right of petition—in regaining the freedom of speech. In that contest scenes occurred worthy the pen of the historian of the age in which we live, scenes that can only be transmitted by the canvass and the artist, scenes that I have no language to describe to you; but with such as I can command it is my purpose to ask your attention to them. Had you been in the gallery of the House of Representatives on January 27, 1820, you would have looked down upon the two hundred and thirty members of that body, each engaged in his usual avocations; some engaged in correspondence, others in writing; others in reading newspapers; others in the business which was transpiring. In the chair was John White, of Kentucky, a slaveholder, who presided with great dignity. In front was Matthew St. Clair Clark, the Clerk of the House, to record the evidence. On the left a man below the medium stature, a man venerable in his appearance, then three score and fifteen years of age, yet erect, his countenance marked with the lineaments of thought, his voice somewhat affected by age, but his enunciation clear and distinct, whose every movement commanded the respect due to a statesman—the Hon. John Quincy Adams stood presenting some papers which he took from a file in his hand, and which, as fast as presented, upon the motion of some slaveholder, were laid upon the table. Around him were Wise, Gilmer and Jones, of Va.; Shepherd and Sanders, of N. C.; Rhet and Pickens, of S. C.; Cook and Meriwether, of Ga., and other slaveholders, intently watching every word he spoke, every paper he presented, lest something that affected the institution of slavery should be presented. At length, taking a paper from his file, and viewing it with more than ordinary attention, he addressed the Speaker thus:—"Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand the petition of Benjamin Emerson and forty-five others, citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, praying for a dissolution of the Union, first, because it has already become intolerable and unsatisfactory to Southern statesmen, who are continually threatening its dissolution"—a thing which I believe they have not forgotten to this day—(laughter)—"second, because the revenues collected in the free States are transferred to the South and there squandered in support of an institution which they dislike; third, because, if that policy should continue, the petitioners very much apprehend it would overwhelm both North and South in destruction." At that point four slaveholders addressed the Speaker at once. The Speaker said, "The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor." When order was restored, Mr. Adams said:—"Sir, I move that this petition be referred to a select committee of nine members, with instructions to report to this House the reason why the prayer of the petitioners is or is not granted." Mr. Adams resumed his seat. Instantly a score of slaveholders were upon their feet demanding to be heard. Mr. Pickens was the first who attracted the attention of the Speaker, and was assigned the floor. All attention was attracted to him. He spoke of the outrage which he considered Mr. Adams had perpetrated, and asked whether it would be in order to burn the petition in the

got, by the way, that I am no longer a servant out a sovereign. (Laughter and applause.) If public men do not do your bidding, and do not maintain the doctrine of the constitution, they are unfaithful servants and ought to be expelled from office. (Applause.) Mr. Adams continued—"If it be possible for this House to entertain that resolution for discussion I shall ask time to prepare my defence, for I desire to show that it is the intention of the slave power to restore the African slave trade"—a prophecy which you and I have lived to see literally fulfilled, for to-day the slave trade is restored—"it is their intention to strike down the rights of habeas corpus and of trial by jury"—another prophecy which we have seen fulfilled. Having said this, he resumed his seat. Mr. Everett, of Vermont, then rose and moved to postpone the subject two weeks, in order to afford time for Mr. Adams to prepare his defence. As he resumed his seat, up rose Henry A. Wise, a man that you have read of within the last two or three months, (laughter,) and inquired whether it would be in order to discuss a resolution of censure (of course he knew it was), and the Speaker responded in the affirmative. Mr. Wise then made a speech, which occupied the remainder of that day and two hours of the following day. It was a speech full of personality. He seemed actuated by feelings of bitter hostility towards Mr. Adams, so much so that I inquired of some older members the reason of it. They told me that Wise and Adams had met on the forum on a former occasion, and Wise had come off rather the worst after the contest. (Laughter.) After he had concluded, Mr. Adams rose, and, with his hands crossed in front of his person, as was his custom, he said:—"Mr. Speaker, I recollect that some years since a member from Virginia came to this House with his hands dripping with human blood, and with his face stained with human gore." By this time the voice of Mr. Wise rang out from the back seat in the hall, calling on the Speaker for leave to address the House. The Speaker rapped with his gavel, and reminded him that Mr. Adams had the floor. Turning immediately to Mr. Adams, he asked for leave to answer. No man had more regard for the amenities of debate than Mr. Adams, and he bowed assent. Then, with all the impetuosity of his nature, Mr. Wise said:—"Mr. Speaker, I desire to know whether I am on trial or the gentlemen from Massachusetts." (Laughter.) He took his seat, as the lawyers say, without receiving his motion. Mr. Adams paid but little attention to it. Having disposed of Mr. Wise (I cannot give you the details of the proceeding) he turned his attention to Mr. Marshall. He spoke of him as a young man of great promise; he spoke in terms of kindness and even of affection. He paid no just tribute to his eloquence, his genius and his services in his own Legislature, and to the high esteem in which he had been held throughout the North. He spoke of his position as one of the proudest among the young men of his age. As he proceeded all the finer feelings of those who listened to him were aroused, and he seemed to obtain control of his hearers. Then he commenced to array the sins of Mr. Marshall before him. Mr. Marshall rose, and, with his arms folded, as was his custom, looked Mr. Adams in the face, as if to challenge him and bidding him defiance. Mr. Adams understood it, and all the resources of his inmost power seemed called forth. He spoke of Mr. Marshall as having charged him with high treason, and then proceeded to define what high treason was: that under the constitution of the United States it consisted in taking any war against the United States, or lending aid and comfort to its enemies. "I presented," said he, "a respectful petition of my constituents to the consideration of the House, and in doing this in the order of business and according to what I believed to be my bounden duty, the gentleman from Kentucky says I have waged war against the government. Now, sir, if I were the father of that young man, I would advise him to return to Kentucky and place himself at some law school, and commence the study of that profession which he has so long followed." (Applause.) Mr. Marshall, feeling the power of the old gentleman's invective, turned pale. Mr. Adams, with increasing vehemence, spoke of him as an ingrate—as having conspired in a midnight cabal, on the presentation of Mr. Gilmer's resolution, with slaveholders to destroy the character, reputation and influence of the best friend he had on earth. He held his action up to the detestation of the House, and charged him with doing the bidding of the slave power. Mr. Marshall listened with signs of increasing emotion, and as the old man saw that he had him in his power, his invective became more terrific. He seemed to draw one arrow after another and thrust it into his writhing form. The reporters laid down their pens; the slaveholders sat aghast, and when I say the tears rolled down their cheeks I speak what I know—so seemingly unconscious were they of everything but the words that fell from the lips of the Old Man Eloquent. At length, after the final explosion of wrath, as it were, Mr. Marshall sat down, looking like a corpse. Apparently insensible and unconscious of life, he looked as if dead. And indeed he never breathed politically from that time. (Applause.) I can give you his own views, which are a better criterion than my judgment. Some fifteen or twenty minutes afterward, while another member was speaking, he came to the side where I was sitting and said to Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, in my hearing, "Mr. Campbell, I wish I was dead." (Laughter.) Mr. Campbell reproved him for his rashness. With an oath, he repeated that he wished he was in his grave. "I would rather die a thousand deaths," said he, "than undergo such a vexatious again." (Laughter.) I said that he never breathed again politically. He never appeared before the members of that hall as he had done. He never bore himself independently, he never spoke with the commanding power that had previously characterized him. He became utterly in his attendance at the House, and—I would not say it to injure his reputation—he is now a wreck of what he once was. From that day despondence seemed to mark him as its own. I regret it. I mourn over it. It seems as if that effort of Mr. Adams almost blotted out of exist-

ence went to the President of the United States and asked him to obtain compensation from the British government for their loss of human flesh. The President became their solicitor and agent. The Secretary of State, acting as the agent of the President, in his letter to our Minister at the Court of St. James, directed him to call the attention of the British government to this matter and to denounce these men as mutineers and murderers. When this letter was published and sent to the Senate there were Senators, grave and reverend, discussing the subject, who declared that unless the British government would come forward and pay for those slaves war should be waged against Great Britain, and the people of the free States should die upon the tented field to maintain the commerce in human flesh. And so our country was disgraced by those official avowals of men in public station; for, so far as the United States were known in the Christian world, it was held up as a government sustaining a commerce in its own people. I felt humbled, I felt mortified, I felt that my own government was improperly degraded before the civilized world. I therefore penned my resolutions declaring that slavery was a local law, that the federal government was instituted to secure liberty, that the State governments had the power of sustaining slavery if they pleased; for, let me say to you that at that day, seventeen years since, I held, as I have ever held since, that the slavery of the South is their own institution and not ours. It is a State institution, over which each State alone has control, and this federal government has no power to interfere with it. (Applause.) And I will say, too, that during those seventeen years I had been my effort to arouse the people of the free States to feel and assert the liberty of your States; that you are not at the disposal of the federal government; that you stand upon a level with the slave States; that you are not degraded below them; that the government which you have formed for freedom has no right to involve you in the crime of sustaining a commerce in human flesh. If there is any one thing that should be my prayer in the hour of death, as it has been my prayer through life, it is that the American people of the free States may be aroused, not to encroach upon the rights of the South, but to maintain these our rights. (Applause.) I had penned, as I said, these resolutions, declaring slavery to be a local institution, and maintaining that the moment the Creole left Virginia it left the jurisdiction of the slave laws, and went upon the high seas, where there is no law of slavery, and there no man had a right over another. One man had no more power over another to carry him to New Orleans and sell him than that other had over him. I maintained that when the slaves of the Creole asserted their rights they violated no law, and it was a fact which no slaveholder or doughface has ever dared or presumed before an audience of American people to contradict in any respect. (Applause.) No law can be found making it penal for a man outside of the slave States to maintain his liberty. I declared that these men, in resuming their natural rights, had violated no law, had committed no crime for which they were amenable to any government. The moment I presented these resolutions the House was in convulsions. A resolution of censure was immediately introduced, and by the introduction of the previous question my lips were hermetically sealed. The vote of censure was passed, in order to degrade me, to destroy my influence, and drive me from my seat. I scorned the place where men could play the tyrant over me, for I had as much right to censure them as they had to censure me. It was a scene which will endure as long as memory lasts, when the representative of the people, standing at the bar arraigned for a violation of the rights of the body, no man presuming to say wherein, I was condemned without having been permitted to speak for myself or to defend myself. I left them and returned to my constituents, in whom I had the most implicit confidence and made my appeal to them; and they with an unanimity almost unknown, ordered me to return to my position in Washington, and to maintain the doctrines I had advocated. (Applause.) When I returned to that hall and marched up to the altar of my country again to take the oath to maintain the constitution of my country, I say to you in the presence of heaven that I meant what I said. If I have failed to maintain that constitution, may God forgive me; for if I have failed, it has been through my want of intelligence and not from any intention upon my part. As I looked around upon those who five weeks before had gazed upon me with such arrogance, and attempted to look into their faces, I could not catch the eye in that vast hall of one of them who could look me in the face. Then I felt the power of truth. I felt the power which attended him who clothed in his pauper's mantle maintained those doctrines of freedom which he so near to every American heart. I have not time to dwell upon the scenes that followed. I will not speak of the time when Dawson, of Louisiana, drew a bowie-knife for my assassination. I was afterwards speaking with regard to a certain transaction in which negroes were concerned in Georgia, when Mr. Black, of Georgia, raising his bludgeon and standing in front of my seat, said to me, "If you repeat that language again I will knock you down." It was a solemn moment with me. I had never been knocked down, and having some curiosity upon that subject I repeated the language. (Repeated applause.) You may, some of you, imagine that I am saying this as though I was a man of courage; but I don't pretend to anything of the kind. I set at opinion myself that if placed in danger I should be wanting in courage. But at that time I knew there was no danger, and therefore there was no need of courage. Some of his friends seized him as he was making a very awkward display of himself, pretending that he was going to strike me. Then Mr. Dawson, of Louisiana, the same who had drawn the bowie-knife, placed his hand in his pocket and said, with an oath which I will not repeat, that he would shoot me, at the same time cocking his pistol so that all around could hear it click. A member from Maryland, a slaveholder—for I have many friends among the slaveholders—rose and took his position between me and Dawson, and I was about to continue my remarks. At this John Slidell, now a Senator, then in the House,



arose, and, putting his hand in his pocket, as if to adjust some weapon, came across the hall; and a member from North Carolina took his position at my left. Charles Hindson, of Massachusetts, took a position upon my right, and Solomon Foote, of Vermont, took his position at the entrance to the aisle behind me; and with these men about me I went on to vindicate the freedom of debate. (Sensation.) I have no time to dwell upon the scene which occurred when the eighty-three slaves who had attempted to escape in the *Pearl* were brought back and placed in prison. It was threatened that the mob would take out the captain and mate, and hang them under lynch law. I felt impressed to go to the prison and say to them that they should not be victims of lynch law, that the mob would not dare to do this. The mob at the gate sent in word that if I did not return immediately, life should be the forfeit. I went out and passed through them, and it was the only time I ever believed I was in danger, for I will frankly say that after I had passed through that shouting and blaspheming mob I felt somewhat safer than I had felt when in the mob. I found my friends in great excitement. Dr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts, introduced into the House a resolution of inquiry to ascertain whether members of Congress were safe in the city, or whether a mob was in possession of the city. Upon this resolution an exciting discussion arose, and they seemed to think that I had given rise to it all. They assailed me. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, turning to me with the arrogance which a slaveholder only can exercise or manifest, said, "I want to know whether the gentleman from Ohio has said that a slave escaping from a slave State into Ohio has a right upon Ohio soil of defending himself from his master. I replied that I did not wish to be misunderstood. I had said that a slave escaping from his master, the moment he stood upon Ohio soil was clothed with all the attributes which his Creator had thrown around him; that it was not only his right to defend his life, liberty and happiness, but I thought that if he failed to do that he was worthy to be a slave. (Applause.) But, on the contrary, if he stood forth in his humanity and protected his life and liberty, I applauded and approved, and regarded him as worthy of the approbation of his fellow men. (Renewed applause.) My audacity so much exceeded his expectations that he would have no further conversation with me. Then Mr. Haskell, of Tennessee, put the question whether I had said that a slave has the moral right to leave his master whenever he chooses and can get away. I replied that I did not wish gentlemen to misapprehend me; I had held that a slave had the right at all times, at every moment, from childhood to the grave, to escape from his master and regain his God-given rights. (Applause.) And not only this, but if he remains in bondage one hour after it is in his power to escape, and thereby dooms his offspring for all coming time to sighs, and chains and suffering, he ought to be a slave. And I added that if I were myself a slave, and had it in my power to escape, I would escape if compelled to slay every slaveholder who opposed my escape, if God gave me the power, even though I should be compelled to walk upon the dead bodies of slaveholders from Mississippi to Malden. (Sensation and applause.) He said that I ought to be hanged as high as Haman, and sat down. Then my old friend Governor Gale asked me whether I would give utterance to sentiments like these in the presence of slaves. "for," he said, "there are slaves now listening." I said that I wished every slave upon earth could listen to me, for if that were the case, and my mind could be obeyed, yonder sun should go down upon a world liberated. My friends, from that day to this I have never been cheated out of the expression of my honest sentiments in Congress. From that day to the time of my leaving the body, no slaveholder ever threw himself in the way of the free expression of my sentiments. But I regret to say that the freedom of debate has been outraged. You have witnessed a scene which has disgraced our government throughout the civilized world. A Senator, a man of moral development, of learning, of eloquence, of genius, who has attracted the attention of this country and of Europe, when giving utterance to the free emotions of his own soul, has been stricken down, and compelled for his life to remain abroad, while his seat in the councils of the nation has been vacant. But thank God, he has at last returned in apparent health; and within the last two days I have had the pleasure of taking the hand and looking once more into the face of Charles Sumner—(great applause)—another man of your State, whose name is identified with its glorious history, because he stands forth and gives utterance to his honest sentiments—because he declares that there is an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery, is denounced as a traitor to the country and worthy of the gallows. My friends, the freedom of speech is yet to be regained in this nation. Mr. G. proceeded to speak of the *Amistad* case, in which a cargo of slaves imported from Africa had captured the vessel and regained their liberty, slaying the captain and the cook, sending the rest of the crew on shore, and retaining the two slaveholders who had had them in charge, but directing them to steer for Africa. Instead of that the slaveholders landed them upon the end of Long Island,

and the men who had obtained their liberty were arrested, while the slaveholders were permitted to go at large. The case was heard in the United States District Court of Connecticut, and the decision was that these heightened and degraded heathen, ignorant as they were, had violated no law, had committed no crime, and were amenable to no penalty. (Applause.) An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where John Quincy Adams stood forth as their advocate, and the Supreme Court maintained the right of these men to liberty, and there it stands, that all men have the right to maintain their life—maintain their liberty, to enjoy happiness, and prepare for heaven. (Applause.) Mr. G. proceeded to speak of an interview which he had held with John Quincy Adams after he had been struck with palsy and was not expected to live. The physician had forbidden him to speak upon any exciting subject, but Mr. Adams said that he could not refrain from warning him of the tendency of this government to surrender the interests of the free States to the slave power, and exhorting him to use his influence to bring about a reformation in the government. But that danger passed, and Mr. Adams was able to take his seat again in Congress. Mr. G. concluded his remarks by parading the scene in which John Quincy Adams, while in the House and in the discharge of his duties, was stricken by the Angel of Death, and fell giving utterance to the memorable words, "This is the last of earth, but I am prepared."

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 15, 1860.

## The Chicago Convention.

There will be free conference all around, and though much earnestness will be evinced, there will be no quarrelling. Mr. Blair bases his argument for Judge Bates on the ground that the Democrats will nominate Mr. Douglas, and that the secession will be a mere disunion fizzle. Mr. Weed puts his on the ground that the Democrats are irretrievably split North and South.—*N.Y. Tribune.*

The Republicans at Chicago base their hopes of success upon the prospect of a Democratic division. They do not look within at their own strength or weakness. They dare not! Their eyes are fixed upon the Democratic party, in the hope of finding in its divisions, their strength. That hope is a delusion. Seldom has the Democratic party been stronger; nor ever the Republican party weaker than at this moment.

The Republican party was in a minority at the North, in 1856—and in the whole Union commanded only one-third of the popular vote. It has recruited its ranks from the broken fragments of Americanism, since then, we admit; but it has only been capable of absorbing the anti-slavery elements of that party, while the more national and conservative portion has been forced into the Democratic ranks. Adding to each side what it has thus gained, and deducting what each will lose by the American nominations of BELL and EVERETT, and it is apparent that the States of the North are Democratic. Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island, can be carried for the Democratic nominee against Mr. SAWARD, or any one of his extreme views.

It has become too much the fashion to ignore the Democratic strength of these States; and it is customary to put down New York as a Republican State, despite the fact, that last year we elected a large portion of our State ticket by a vote which we will, this year, not only maintain but largely increase.

The Watertown Union, referring to the seceding States, compares their Democratic vote to our own:

|                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Arkansas for President in 1856 | 21,910 |
| Florida do do                  | 6,358  |
| Louisiana do do                | 22,161 |
| Delaware do do                 | 8,001  |
| Oregon vote in 1859            | 5,646  |
| Mississippi                    | 35,460 |
| Texas                          | 31,160 |
| Alabama                        | 46,739 |
| Georgia                        | 56,551 |

Total vote of the above nine States. . . 231,031  
The Democratic vote of this State, in 1859,  
was . . . 252,951

Difference in favor of New York. . . 13,923

The vote of South Carolina is left out in this calculation because it chooses its delegates by the Legislature; but it must not be forgotten that districts of Arkansas, Delaware, Alabama and Georgia refused to secede, and delegates from South Carolina remained in the regular Convention.

The weakness resulting from Democratic divisions is as nothing, compared with the atrophy of the Republican party. What is the party that so suddenly rose into strength in 1856? We had almost asked where is it? Dare it present its

platform, denouncing the "twin relics of Barbarism, Slavery and polygamy?" Dare it present its candidate, Fremont? It would as soon present the one as the other. It would as likely go back to Scott, who repudiates it, and disclaims all allegiance to its principles and its organization.

Where is it strong? In Congress? No; it has from the beginning shirked its principles, and contented itself with watching for chances of Democratic division. Has it gained in the South? No; though it has signified its willingness to surrender principles for party gain; it has received no accessions from the South. Does it control the pulpit, the press, the machinery of public opinion, the moral sentiment, the religious bias of the North? No; it is weak in all these respects, where once it appeared to be omnipotent.

We repeat, since 1856, the Republican party of the North has failed in strength, and at the South has gained nothing. Yet in the palmy days of Fremontism, it was a minority; and this power of Abolitionism, which has struck such undue terror in the South, was but a phantom. Let the contest come on now; and we will prove it such. The Republicans at Chicago feel the danger and hesitate, and are ready to change front, to retreat, if need be, from their platform, and to abandon their organization. But let them take any choice, and they are beaten. The Democracy never were so strong; the Republicans never so weak.



**The Irrepressible Conflict in the Republican Party.**

The New York *Courier & Enquirer* comes to the defence of Mr. Weed in an article of almost two columns of our paper, from which we extract a few fragments:

THURLOW WEED.—We hazard little in saying that, just at this time, there exists a combination of men and parties, against the political and personal character of Mr. Weed, such as has seldom been witnessed in this country. And yet, all things considered, this should not be matter of surprise. \* \* \*

Our readers need not be told, that for years past, that portion of the old Whig party, known as "the Silver Greys," have labored zealously for the overthrow of Weed; and it is equally well known, that they have always deemed the triumph of their professed principles as of minor consequence to the political destruction of the individual whose commanding influence in the party checkmated them at every turn. \* \*

Then sprang into being the Dark Lantern party, four-fifths of which came from our ranks; and these to a man united with the "Silver Greys," the political and personal enemies of Seward, and the personal enemies of Weed, to pull down or thrust aside one who so thoroughly thwarted their ambitious expectations and blocked their political game. \*

The recent defeat of Mr. Seward before the National Republican Convention at Chicago, has revived the dormant ambition and curied hopes of certain Fossil politicians in this State; and as a natural consequence, we find a hue and cry raised against Thurlow Weed. Like skillful Generals they recognize the necessity of carrying the barricade before assaulting the citadel; and hence, Weed is to be crushed in order that the wisest and the ablest political friend of Mr. Seward—the man who is best known to the people of the State and who has so long enjoyed and never abused their confidence—may be thrust out of their way, and the arrangement of local matters devolve upon less experienced and more pliant individuals. We perceive accordingly, that all the "Silver Grey" Presses, the organs of Know-Nothingism, and the open and concealed enemies of William H. Seward, are combining in a general assault upon Mr. Weed of the *Albany Journal*.

The *Tribune* exults at getting rid of Weed & Co.: *ALBANY, N.Y. 6-11-1860*  
*ATLAS-ARGUS*

"If, then, the elements of the contest had remained substantially unchanged, there would have been just one chance of making head against the Republicans—by combining all the Democratic and American vote on some com-

mon candidate or ticket. And if Gov. Seward had been the Republican and Judge Douglas the sole opposing candidate, this would not have been a hopeless undertaking. *The intense hatred of Seward and Weed cherished by most Americans*, and which have been the vital element of their organization since the idea of changing our Naturalization Laws was virtually given up, coupled with a very general admiration of Judge Douglas's course on the *Lecompton outrage* and subsequently, *and the general Albany last Winter*, would have insured the nearly total concentration of the American vote on the Douglas ticket. We do not think even this would have sufficed—we believe Gov. Seward could have carried the State over this formidable combination—but *shrewd observers think differently*; and there can be no doubt that a desperate effort would have been made for Douglas, animated by confident hopes of success.

"Now, however, the case is bravely altered. It is not possible to bring the hatred of the Lobby influences and venal legislation at Albany to bear against Lincoln as it would have been brought to bear against Seward. Neither can the great mass of the Americans be induced to vote the Democratic ticket to defeat Lincoln as they would have done in the hope of defeating Seward."

The *Tribune* sneers at the discontents who compose "these sore-head cabals," and bids them be silent or be off:

"A few cab-loads of the disappointed—mainly officeholders or inveterate office-seekers—are holding off in mystery and silence, muttering in a few sympathizing ears that they could do great things in the line of mischief if they only would—that they will wait and see what is done at Baltimore, &c., &c. Little knots of them gather in familiar haunts to consider what they might and what they would like to do, fancying that their sayings and doings are very private, when there cannot so many as three get together without at least one eager to tell on all the rest.

"All we ask of this little company is that they speak out. The Republican cause is quite strong enough to bear even their adhesion; and it will flourish gloriously if favored by their open hostility."

To all this class it says, in the language of Henry V. at Agincourt;

He that hath no stomach for this fight,  
Let him depart; his passport shall be made,  
And crowns for convoy put into his purse:  
We would not die in that man's company,  
That fears his fellowship to die with us.



# Lincoln a Reluctant Republican When He Ran for President

*Less than a decade ago President Eisenhower's party preference was sufficiently in doubt as to inspire hope in some Democrats that he might carry the 1952 banner for them, while today there are those who maintain that Senator Kennedy is at heart a conservative. However, these statesmen are not the first Chief Executives whose political position has been subject to dispute. As at least one of the titles considered below by the Civil War scholar Earl Schenck Miers will attest, Lincoln himself could not wholly be identified with the Republican standard under which he marched to the White House.*

By **EARL SCHENCK MIERS**  
Reprinted by Special Permission of  
the Saturday Review

IN MANY respects there never was a more reluctant Republican than Abraham Lincoln, who embraced the party that made him President for the simple reason that, politically, he had nowhere else to turn.

A splendid biography—"Lincoln's Manager, David Davis," by Willard L. King (Harvard University Press, \$6.75)—focuses sharply on the dilemma that haunted old Illinois Whigs like Lincoln and Judge Davis when the revolutionary forces of their age swept away the political underpinnings upon which they stood.

All manner of dissenters, seeking to turn unrest, fanaticism and bigotry into political capital, found a marriage of convenience in Republicanism. The two groups that Lincoln and Davis most distrusted were the rip-the-hell-out-of-slavery abolitionists and the anti-foreigner, anti-Catholic disciples of Know Nothingism.

As a love nest of abolitionists, Free Soilers and Know Nothings, the Republican Party carried the Massachusetts gubernatorial election of 1854, and Lincoln bluntly confessed his misgivings at such loose political morality.

"I do not perceive," he said, "how anyone professing to be sensitive to the wrongs of the Negroes can join in a league to degrade a class of white men."



Mr. Miers

he foresaw clearly that unbridled, irresponsible agitation could in time substitute an inquisition for these orderly processes.

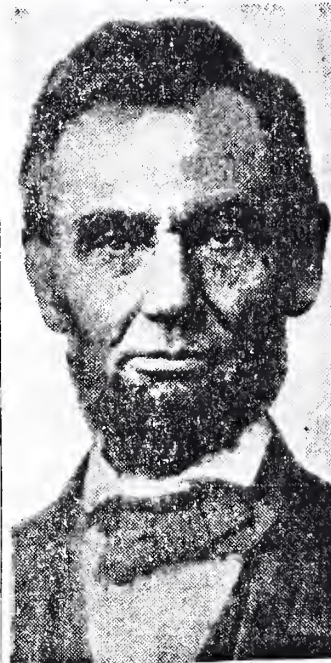
Certainly it was no fault of Davis' that the conflict ultimately became "irrepressible;" and he came to love Lincoln, and to work for him with mind and heart, because no other person he knew was fairer in spirit, more balanced in judgment, or more committed to moderation.

Willard King, who is a distinguished lawyer in Chicago, brings to his study of Judge Davis both the subjective emotion of the man who treats law as a way of life and the objective method of the historian who has sought diligently for new materials. His portraits of life on the circuit, the prairie courtroom and the rough-and-tumble of politics in a nation falling apart have freshness and strength.

TO DAVIS, Lincoln was no ready-made friend; first Davis derided, then grew to respect, later to trust, and finally to embrace with thoughtful conscience the Lincoln who gave the upstart Republicans their best hope of finding a middle ground. Long before the judge went to the 1860 convention to direct the behind-the-scenes high jinks that resulted in Lincoln's nomination, Lincoln was the man Davis trusted to handle his court on those occasions when necessity forced him to be absent.

And high jinks aplenty went on at Chicago and elsewhere in the political conventions that pitted Lincoln against Douglas Breckinridge and Bell in the election of a century ago.

"Three Against Lincoln" (Louisiana State University Press, \$6) is a new edition of Mura Halstead's gem of political journalism, "Caucuses of 1860," edited with an intelligent introduction by William B. Hesseltine, professor of history at the Un-



versity of Wisconsin.

Halstead, who represented the Cincinnati Commercial at all four conventions that year, was a reporter, "in depth" with a New Yorkerish touch. He could catch in a word how the politicians were talking themselves into an intensified cold war, so that no Republican in Chicago could express an idea that was not "solemn" and no Democrat in Charleston could open his mouth without expounding upon "the crisis."

THE CLICHES captured the delegates and in time, in Halstead's opinion, nominated the wrong candidates, for Douglas came off with only half a party behind him and Lincoln won over the eminently qualified William H. Seward.

What such shenanigans demonstrated to Halstead was the fact that "there is no honesty in caucuses," but for all his prejudice Halstead managed to capture as well as anyone ever has the drama of intense passion, high humor and astonishing compromise that constitutes the American phenomenon of a nominating convention.

The point of course is that, in the judgment of history, despite the gin cocktails at breakfast that made Halstead's hair stand on end, the caucuses discovered and America elected a President who still lives in the heart of the nation. Each year continues to bring a new ton of books about Halstead's "wrong" candidate, among them this season "The Real Abraham Lin-

coln," by Reinhard H. Luthin (Prentice-Hall, \$10), a lengthy "one-volume history of his life and times."

Prof. Luthin, who teaches at Columbia, retells the story of Lincoln from birth to the ultimate sealing of his coffin 19 years after his death, which seems a pretty fair biographical span. No one can quarrel with Dr. Luthin's scholarship; he knows the events and legends in the Lincoln story, and with plodding intensity he places them in a straight line for the less informed to follow.

THERE IS, however, no poetic insight into the interplay of environment upon the man that one finds in Carl Sandburg (and which emerges also in Willard King's biography of Judge Davis); and there is precious little of the felicity of prose or the richness of detail making for lifelike character that gave to the one-volume biography of Lincoln by Benjamin P. Thomas the aura of a literary event.

At least it is complete, and it has the prime virtue of keeping events in reasonable perspective. A world awakening to freedom surely must need the story of Lincoln and, to borrow a phrase from President Kennedy, there may well be a new frontier for the Lincoln craftsman; in that event, Prof. Luthin could become Johnny-on-the-spot. Whether as much can be said for Victor Seidler's "Lincoln's Journey to Greatness" (Winston, \$4.50) is open to debate.

Mr. Seidler addresses himself rather exhaustively to "a factual account of the 12-day inaugural trip," and doubtless there are Lincoln students who will be pleased to make the journey with him. However, this item is fare for the indulgent hobbyist rather than the reader of normal interests.

AND PERHAPS there is a similar audience for "Lincoln's Administration" (Twayne, \$4.50), a compilation by Albert Mordell of selected essays by Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles from the pages of The Galaxy and The Atlantic Monthly. These essays deal with Lincoln's nomination, election, first term, and re-election, and originally were published from 1876 to 1878.

Their interest must belong to the specialist, whose tribe, many experts suspect, is steadily dwindling. Like Halstead, Welles distrusted the nominating convention that kindled "contentions, alienations, strife and bitterness"; but somehow America found Lincoln nonetheless, and still believes the reputedly whispered words of Stanton at the bedside when the President died: "Now he belongs to the ages."



# GOP's Elephant Rose To Fame With Lincoln

By ROBERT WOODS  
Journal Editor

How did an elephant become the symbol of the Republican party?

Some historians believe that the elephant first appeared in connection with the GOP as an illustration in the Illinois State Journal.

At any rate, Journal editors did make use of an elephant picture at the top of a column describing a rally for Abraham Lincoln in Springfield in the edition of Aug. 9, 1860.

The rally, on the day before, was the official opening of Lincoln's campaign for the presidency. It was, according to all reports, a great day of speechmaking, demonstrations and torchlight parades that went on far into the night.

THE JOURNAL story called it the "biggest demonstration ever held in the West." It must be remembered that Springfield at that time was the capital city of a frontier state.

Supporters of Mr. Lincoln came to the capital city from all parts of the state. The Journal estimated that 75,000 were in attendance.

Inspired by this turnout of Republicans to kick off the Lincoln campaign, The Journal editors came up with the elephant picture to illustrate the story. The elephant, wearing seven league boots carried banners that read: "We are coming! Clear the Track!"

The Journal called the rally "A Political Earthquake," and a headline read: "The Prairies on Fire for Lincoln."

THIS IS the way the writer started his story describing the rally: "A veritable political earthquake passed over this part of the state on yesterday. We have no adequate words to describe what our eyes beheld. Never, we believe, in the history of our country, was there a larger or more magnificent political demonstration than that which took place at the home of Mr. Lincoln. Certainly nothing has ever occurred in the West which at all compares with it..."

Originally scheduled as a demonstration centering around Mr. Lincoln's home, the rally took on such dimensions that it was necessary to move the speech making to the Fairgrounds.

Mr. Lincoln was not scheduled to make a speech, but he agreed to appear at the Fairgrounds to greet the crowds assembled to hear party orators who were to speak on his behalf.

The Journal story describes the scene at the Fairgrounds in this manner: "... it was announced that Mr. Lincoln had arrived upon the Fairgrounds. This was the signal for a display of wild enthusiasm, the like of which was never before witnessed by an Illinois audience. There was a rush from every stand toward his carriage... and Mr. Lincoln was... carried upon the shoulders of the crowd to an impromptu stand, where he was called upon for a speech...

## SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS

[From the Daily Journal of the 9th.]



### A Political Earthquake!

### THE PRAIRIES ON FIRE FOR LINCOLN!

### THE BIGGEST DEMONSTRATION EVER HELD IN THE WEST!

### 75,000 REPUBLICANS IN COUNCIL!

### IMMENSE PROCESSION!

### Speaking from Five Stands by Trumbull, Doolittle, Kellogg, Palmer, Browning, Gillespie, etc., etc.

### MAGNIFICENT TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION AT NIGHT.

"WHEN ORDER was restored, Mr. Lincoln declined to make a speech in the following words:

"My Fellow Citizens, I appear among you upon this occasion with no intention of making a speech.

"It has been my purpose, since I have been placed in

GOP's Elephant  
Continued On Page 2, Column 1

my present position to make no speeches. This assemblage having been drawn together at the place of my residence, it appeared to be the wish of those constituting this vast assembly to see me, and it is certainly my wish to see all of you. I appear upon the grounds here at this time only for the purpose of affording myself the best opportunity of seeing you, and enabling you to see me.

"I confess with gratitude, he it understood that I did not suppose my appearance among you would create the tumult which I now witness. I am profoundly gratified for this manifestation of your feelings. I am gratified because it is a tribute such as can be paid to no man as a man. It is the evidence that four years from this time you will give a like manifestation to the next man who is the representative of the truth on questions that now agitate the public. And it is because you will then fight for this cause as you do now, or even with greater ardor than now, though I be dead and gone, I most profoundly and sincerely thank you.

"Having said this much, allow me now to say that it is my wish that you will hear this public discussion by others of our friends who are present for the purpose of addressing you, and that you will kindly let me be silent."

MR. LINCOLN, after this brief appearance, slipped away and eluded the crowd. The Journal story said: "At the conclusion of these remarks, Mr. Lincoln descended from the platform, and with difficulty made his way through the vast throng who eagerly pressed around to take him by the hand. By an adroit movement, he escaped on horseback while the crowd was besieging the carriage to which it was expected he would return."

After the long afternoon of speeches, the crowd scattered through Springfield's downtown area, where the night-long procession of marchers was to take place.

The Journal account said: "The impossibility of portray-

ing an accurate picture of last night's brilliant scene must be evident to those who had the good fortune to behold it."

And the torchlight parade which seemed to "set the prairies on fire for Lincoln," looked something like this:

"At about seven o'clock the various delegations of 'Wide Awakes,' to the number of more than two thousand, assembled at the Wigwam, and formed in marching order. In a few minutes the long procession began to move, and for more than an hour it presented the appearance of the onward march of a vast conflagration. As far as the eye could reach, to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west, a seemingly interminable line of flame stretched out its moving length..."

EDITORIALLY, THE Journal apologized for the inadequacy of its account of the Lincoln campaign rally.

It stated: "Our report of the Lincoln rally of yesterday does not give even a faint idea of the extent and magnitude of the affair. At the late hour last night at which it was written out, we found it impossible to give it such notice as it is worthy of, or as its significance demands. There is one thing which the meeting settles beyond a doubt, and that is that the 'center' will roll up a vote for Mr. Lincoln which will settle the hash for Mr. Douglas in the state..."

The illustration showing the GOP elephant and the headlines is taken from the Journal files and appeared in the publication "The Great Republican Campaigns of 1860 and 1896" by Osborn H. Oldroyd. It was published as a paperback in Chicago in 1896 by Laird and Lee.

The illustration and the reference to the GOP symbol was sent to The Journal by Lloyd McKinley Harmon, Lt. Cmdr., USN (Ret.), who is a former mayor of Coronado, Calif., and a member of the Republican Central Committee of San Diego County.

Illinois State Journal, Illinois State Register  
Springfield, Illinois  
February 12, 1966





# Lincoln Lore

August, 1976

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1662

## LINCOLN HISTORIOGRAPHY: NEWS AND NOTES

There is big news in the field. All signs indicate that there are a half-dozen important Lincoln books in preparation. The one nearest completion is scheduled to be published on Lincoln's birthday in 1977. Others are in lesser stages of progress, one being merely in the stage of "contemplation." Should they all appear in the near future, however, we will be confronted with the greatest body of Lincoln literature since the Civil War Centennial. In fact, one is tempted to see in all this the definite earmarks of a revival—of still another "Great Awakening" in the Lincoln field.

It would be wrong to speculate at length on the causes for the revival before we even see the books. But one thing does seem certain. The renewed interest is not a function of fresh

discoveries of important documents which were previously lost or hidden. There have been no major documentary discoveries in almost three decades. The new books are more probably signs of the times. Many Americans have a feeling that an era of American history has closed. We can already conjure up some feeling of the remoteness and historicity of the decade of the 1960s. We often feel that the political and economic questions of the 1970s cannot be answered by any of the programs suggested by the political parties since the Great Depression. Even the religious, cultural, and artistic climates seem different. We live in a new era, and each era has come to grips with the figure of Abraham Lincoln as the supreme symbol of the American past. We may be getting a



*From the Lincoln National Life Foundation*

FIGURE 1. This piece of White House Lincolniana was lithographed by George Spohn from a painting by Anton Hohenstein and published by Joseph Hoover of Philadelphia.



new Lincoln for a new age.

The first book to appear should be Stephen B. Oates's one-volume biography, *With Malice Toward None: A Life of Abraham Lincoln*, to be published by Harper & Row next February. Professor Oates teaches history at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and is famous for writing biographies, most notably of abolitionist John Brown. Hints of what is to come in his biography have appeared in recent issues of two popular historical magazines. "Wilderness Fugue: Lincoln's Journey to Manhood on the Kentucky and Indiana Frontier" appeared in *The American West*, XIII (March/April, 1976), 4-13. It is an extremely well-written and lively reconstruction of Lincoln's pre-adult years, based on the latest secondary sources but not lingering to discuss disputed interpretations or to weigh controverted pieces of evidence. It does not glorify the limitations of Lincoln's frontier environment, it stresses his estrangement from his father, and it shows a special interest in Lincoln's inner life, noting a preoccupation "with death, with madness, with the bizarre and macabre."

The theme persists in "Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" (*American History Illustrated*, XI [April, 1976], 32-41). Again, Oates's discussion of Lincoln's law career is based substantially on the latest available treatments by specialists in the field and dwells (in his customary sparkling style) on familiar and famous cases from Lincoln's practice, *Hurd vs. The Rock Island Bridge Co.*, and the Duff Armstrong murder case.

G. S. Boritt's long-awaited *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream* is at a press now, but no date for its appearance has yet been announced. Harvard's Oscar Handlin is writing a biography of Lincoln for the Library of American Biography series (published by Little, Brown), of which he is the general editor. Professor Harold Hyman of Rice University has been assigned a volume on Lincoln in a series on American Presidents published by the University of Kansas Press. Professor Don E. Fehrenbacher of Stanford University is working on a book about Abraham Lincoln and the Constitution. Northwestern's George M. Fredrickson, currently at work on a book on race relations, is considering a book for the future on Lincoln's political thought. All of these books will be duly noted in *Lincoln Lore* when they appear.

It is a privilege to be able to give notice of the appearance of *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), the newest volume in the distinguished New American Nation series. David M. Potter, Professor of History at Stanford until his death in 1971, began the book, and Don E. Fehrenbacher, a colleague of Potter's at Stanford, finished and edited the uncompleted manuscript. Both men have made truly significant contributions to Lincolniana before, and it is justification enough for the existence of the "News and Notes" series in *Lincoln Lore* that it allows mention of this excellent volume by these two masterful scholars.

*The Impending Crisis* is not technically Lincolniana, but it is a good book with many wonderful insights on Abraham Lincoln. Two chapters deserve particular notice, and a discussion of them may serve to suggest the high quality of the whole volume. Chapter 13 deals with the Lincoln-Douglas debates, a specialty of Professor Fehrenbacher's and an event which benefits from the famed evenhanded judiciousness of Professor Potter. They say much in the space of twenty-seven pages.

The crucial point of the debates was not the Freeport question, which demanded that Douglas say whether the local populace could exclude slavery from a territory as yet unor-

ganized to form a state constitution. If Douglas said yes, the South would hate him; if he said no, the North would hate him. But Douglas had already answered this question and never dodged it when it came up. He was anxious to answer it and answer it in the affirmative, for his recent fight with the Buchanan administration over the proslavery Lecompton constitution had killed his chances in the South anyhow. Douglas "cares nothing for the South—he knows he is already dead there," Lincoln wrote Henry Asbury on July 31, 1858.

The crucial aspect was Lincoln's shifting "attention from the policy aspects of the question [of slavery in the territories], where the positions of Douglas and the Republicans might converge, to the philosophical aspects, where he believed their differences were fundamental." Thus Lincoln struck a blow for conscience and, simultaneously, for his own political livelihood, for he wanted no mistaking of Douglas for a good Republican on the part of the leaders of the Republican party from the East.

Lincoln thus unmasked in Douglas's political philosophy one quite different from his own. When Douglas spoke of rights for Negroes, "clearly he did not mean intrinsic rights, carrying their own claim to fulfillment," says Potter. "He thought, instead, of 'rights' granted as a gift, at the discretion of the state, and he did not believe they ought to be very extensive." Douglas, he adds, "became almost obsessively committed to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, [but] the key to his thought lay not in his political theory but in his belief in the inferiority of Negroes and Indians." It "was not that majoritarianism made him ready to subordinate the blacks, but that a readiness to subordinate the blacks made him responsive to majoritarianism."

Potter and Fehrenbacher defend Lincoln's allegation that there was a conspiracy afoot to bring about a second Dred Scott decision to legalize slavery nationally. It was not altogether implausible in the judicial context of 1858. No less a person than the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court had said that "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution." They conclude that "Lincoln wanted to assail the slave power in a way that would sharply differentiate his position from that of Douglas. He did so more by attributing to Douglas a sinister design for future expansion of slavery than by criticizing Douglas's concrete proposals." Nevertheless, they say,

The difference between Douglas and Lincoln—and in a large sense between proslavery and antislavery thought—was not that Douglas believed in chattel servitude (for he did not), or that Lincoln believed in an unqualified, full equality of blacks and whites (for he did not). The difference was that Douglas did not believe that slavery really mattered very much, because he did not believe that Negroes had enough human affinity with him to make it necessary for him to concern himself with them. Lincoln, on the contrary, believed that slavery mattered, because he recognized a human affinity with blacks which made their plight a necessary matter of concern to him.

To say all this and still retain a healthy respect for Douglas is no easy matter; yet it is the sort of thing for which David Potter is famous. Douglas had burned his bridges back to the Democracy of James Buchanan and the South, and Roger Taney's court decision had made popular sovereignty seem a nullity. "Many a man, at such a point, might have decided to scuttle the popular sovereignty doctrine and to look for a vehicle by which to move into the antislavery camp [which many Eastern Republicans wanted him to do]," says Potter.



"Especially so, if he faced, as Douglas did, the immediate necessity of gaining reelection to the Senate in the preponderantly antislavery constituency of Illinois, with both the administration Democrats and the antislavery Republicans assailing him." But he chose to stick with popular sovereignty. He was a man of principle whether our times find his principles wrongheaded or not.

Chapter 16 deals astutely with the election of 1860. Lincoln gained the nomination because of the Republican party's Southern strategy, that is, because Republicans sought a candidate who could win the Northern states which bordered slave states: Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. New England and the upper North were in the bag no matter who ran on the Republican ticket. This strategy made only Edward Bates of Missouri and Abraham Lincoln viable candidates. Seward, despite being the most experienced man in the party, had spent a decade trying to prove his radicalism on the slave question, and though he tried to pull his horns in now, it was clearly too late. Bates, despite support by Republican heavyweights like the Blairs, Horace Greeley, and Schuyler Colfax, was too old and had dallied too long with the position that slavery in the territories was not a matter of Congressional concern.

Lincoln got the nomination and the election, which was guaranteed by his moderation (the "Southern" strategy paid off) and not by the Democratic split (which might merely have thrown the election into the House). Nevertheless, the fact that the election of 1860 was two contests, between Lincoln and Douglas in the North and between Breckinridge and Bell in the South, helped guarantee secession. The Republicans had no reason to advertize their moderation and devotion to states' rights to a merely Northern audience, and they did not have contacts enough with Southern sensibilities to understand that threats of secession were anguished and sincere promises rather than blackmail and bluster.

*En route* to reaching such judgments, Professor Potter gives the reader his customary smooth style, intelligent command of language, urbane wit, sensitivity, and sensibleness. Of the Lincoln-Douglas debates he says: "In these face-to-face encounters, the rivals sometimes assailed each other with the blunt combativeness of men who believed in their cause and were not afraid of a fight, but always in the American fashion of being able to shake hands after they had traded blows. This was what laymen have called good sportsmanship and what scholars have called consensus, and what it meant at bottom was that the values which united them as Americans were more important than those which divided them as candidates, or if not that, at least that the right to fight for one's ideas involved an obligation to fight fair and to recognize a democratic bond with other fighters for other ideas."

Professor Fehrenbacher faced the unbelievably thankless task of working hard on a book from which he knew he would get little fame (it is Potter's book and Fehrenbacher's name appears only as editor). He even had to leave in footnotes which criticized his own work! But he did a wonderful job—aided by the fact that Potter, himself a great historian, knew the quality of Fehrenbacher's work on Lincoln and adopted most of his interpretations.

Over the last couple of years Harold Holzer has written a series of articles on Lincoln portraits and prints which constitute the best available sources on these difficult items of Lincolniana. It is next to impossible to come by dependable data on the number, chronology, cost, and purpose of the thousands of Lincoln portraits produced by various processes in the nineteenth century, and these articles provide much useful information. "Looking for Lincoln: The King of Collectibles at 108" appeared in *The Antique Trader* of February 12, 1974, pages 34-36; it discusses hotly pursued items and the ever-volatile prices for items of Lincolniana. "Prints of Abraham Lincoln" appeared in the same month in *Antiques*, CV (February, 1974), 329-335; it provides a good brief introduc-

tion to the subject. "White House Lincolniana: The First Family's Print of the Lincolns," *Lincoln Herald*, LXXVI (Fall, 1974), 132-136, tells the story of Holzer's painstaking investigation of the origins of the Lincoln family print (see Figure 1.) which appears in the Lincoln Sitting Room of the White House. "Hohenstein: Lincoln's 'Print Doctor,'" *Lincoln Herald*, LXXVI (Winter, 1974), 181-186, discusses the efforts of German-born lithographer Anton Hohenstein in improving or pirating pictures of Lincoln for Philadelphia printer Joseph Hoover. "Lincoln from the Parlor Album," *Americana*, II (July, 1974), 24-27, focuses on the Lincoln portraits which appeared on *cartes de visite*, two-inch-by-four-inch paper photographs mounted on cardboard and collected in many a Victorian parlor album. "Some Contemporary Paintings of Abraham Lincoln," *Antiques*, CVII (February, 1975), 314-322, concentrates strictly on paintings done before 1869. Another introduction to the zany world of lithographed and engraved Lincolniana is Holzer's "Lincoln and the Printmakers," which appeared in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LXVIII (February, 1975), 74-84. Lincoln's own feelings about such artistic efforts were discussed in "Lincoln and His Prints: 'A Very Indifferent Judge,'" *Lincoln Herald*, LXXVII (Winter, 1975), 203-211. Finally, there are more tips on prices and collecting in Holzer's "Lincoln Prints," *American Collector*, April, 1976, pages 18-20, 23 and "Lincoln in His Own Write," *The Antiques Trader*, February 10, 1976, pages 50-54 (on signatures).

Mr. Holzer has recently joined forces with Mr. Lloyd Ostendorf, renowned photograph collector, historical artist, and the foremost authority on photographs of Abraham Lincoln, to do some work on the portraits of Lincoln painted from life. Though their work is incomplete, they are already disputing the word of the Librarian of Congress, Daniel Boorstin. The National Portrait Gallery recently acquired from Boston dealer Maury Bromsen the long-lost miniature portrait of Abraham Lincoln, executed from life by John Henry Brown. Professor Boorstin unfortunately claimed that it was the first life portrait, and Messrs. Holzer and Ostendorf pointed out in a February news release that it was "at best the fifth," after the works of Thomas Hicks, Charles Alfred Barry, Thomas Johnston, Lewis Peter Clover, and, possibly, George Frederick Wright. Moreover, though Brown's portrait has some legitimate claims to being a life portrait, he did commission a set of photographs to be made, from one of which he worked very closely.

A marathon five-day conference on "Lincoln's Thought and the Present" was held at Sangamon State University in Springfield, Illinois, from June 7-11. The National Endowment for the Humanities and the Illinois Bicentennial Commission funded the conference as a part of a larger program to "upgrade the interpretations" of the Lincoln sites in and about Springfield. It was truly a gathering of the great; papers were presented by Don E. Fehrenbacher, Roy P. Basler, Richard N. Current, Robert W. Johannsen, Norman Graebner, George M. Fredrickson, G. S. Boritt, Kathryn Kish Sklar, Arthur Margon, Douglas Morgan, John H. Keiser, Christopher N. Breiseth, and Roger Bridges. The NEH grant also includes funds to underwrite publication of a book containing the papers from the conference. Apparently, the volume is at least a year from completion; its appearance will be duly noted in the pages of *Lincoln Lore*.

Ronald D. Rietveld edited "An Eyewitness Account of Abraham Lincoln's Assassination" for *Civil War History*, XXII (March, 1976), 60-69. The account, by Frederick A. Sawyer of Massachusetts, is in private hands and has never been published previously.

Richard Sloan of 3855 Arthur Avenue, Seaford, New York, is now editing a mimeographed bulletin called *The Lincoln Log*. It features rather brief notices of "newsy" items in the field of Lincolniana. Whether by chance or design, most of the issues thus far have dealt primarily with assassination lore.



## CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY 1975-1976

Selections approved by a Bibliography Committee consisting of the following members: Dr. Kenneth A. Bernard, Belmont Arms, 51 Belmont St., Apt. C-2, South Easton, Mass.; Arnold Gates, 289 New Hyde Park Rd., Garden City, N.Y.; Carl Haverlin, 8619 Louise Avenue, Northridge, California; James T. Hickey, Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois; E. B. (Pete) Long, 607 S. 15th St., Laramie, Wyoming; Ralph G. Newman, 18 E. Chestnut St., Chicago, Illinois; Hon. Fred Schwengel, 200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C.; Dr. Wayne C. Temple, 1121 S 4th Street Court, Springfield, Illinois. New items available for consideration may be sent to the above persons, or the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

1975

**DELL, CHRISTOPHER**

Lincoln/and the War Democrats/The Grand Erosion/of Conservative Tradition/Christopher Dell/(Device)/Rutherford . Madison . Teaneck/Fairleigh Dickinson University Press/London: Associated University Presses/[Copyright 1975 by Associated University Presses, Inc.]

Book, cloth, 9 1/2" x 6 1/4", 455 pp., price, \$ 18.50.

1975-18

**LEONARDI, DELL**

(Device)/The Reincarnation/ Of/John/ Wilkes/ Booth/A Study in Hypnotic Regression/by/Dell Leonardi/The Devin-Adair Company/Old Greenwich, Connecticut/[Copyright 1975 by The Devin-Adair Company. All rights reserved.]

Book, cloth, 8 1/4" x 5 1/2", 180 (includes both roman and numerical numbers) pp., price, \$ 6.95.

1975-19

**LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY**

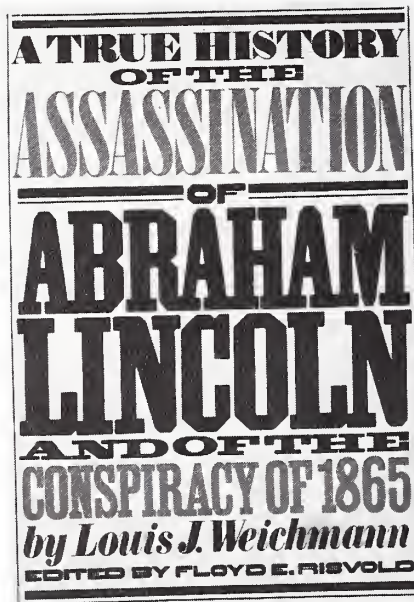
Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Fall, 1975/Vol. 77, No. 3/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./[Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 137-188 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$ 2.50.

**LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY**

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Winter, 1975/Vol. 77, No. 4/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./[Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 189-236 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$ 2.50.

**ULDRICK, JANN-PAUL**

The Dames of/The Loyal Legion of the/United States/(Device)/First Ladies Of The Civil War/(Cover title)/

Pamphlet, paper, 8 1/2" x 5 1/2", 6 pp.

(1975)-22

**WEICHMANN, LOUIS J.**

A True History/Of The Assassination/Of Abraham Lincoln/And Of The Conspiracy/Of 1865/Louis J. Weichmann/Chief witness for the Government of the United States/in the prosecution of the conspirators/Edited By Floyd E. Risvold/(Device)/Alfred A. Knopf New York 1975/[Copyright 1975 by Floyd E. Risvold. All rights reserved. First edition.]

Book, leather, 9 1/2" x 6 1/2", fr., xxxii p., 492 (8) pp., index (i-xvi), illus., price, \$ 100.00. Limited edition of 50 copies of which this is No. 23. Page from second copy of Weichmann's original typed manuscript tipped in. Autographed copy by Floyd E. Risvold with photo of editor at front of book.

1975-23 a

**WEICHMANN, LOUIS J.**

Same as above.  
Regular unnumbered edition, price, \$ 15.00.

1975-23 b

**BAUER, CHARLES J.**

So I/Killed Lincoln/John Wilkes Booth/by/Charles J. Bauer/Vantage Press/New York . Washington . Atlanta . Hollywood/[Copyright 1976 by Charles J. Bauer. All rights reserved. First edition.]

Book, cloth, 8 1/4" x 5 1/2", fr., xxi p., 225 pp., illus., price, \$ 6.50.

1976-1

**ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY** 1976-2  
Illinois/History/Volume 29/Number 5/February 1976/Abraham Lincoln/The Villain's Grave—George

III/and Abraham Lincoln Face the/Rebels—The Central Illinois/Years—The House Divided/Speech—The Cooper Union/Address—When and Where of/the Gettysburg Address—A/Cabinet Appointment—The/Bixby Letter—A Friend and/Counselor—Two Booths: A/Villain and a Hero—An/Assassination Attempt/(Portrait)/An Etching of Mr. Lincoln/(Cover title)/[Copyright 1976 by the Illinois State Historical Society. Published by the Illinois State Historical Library in cooperation with the Illinois State Historical Society, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois 62706.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10" x 7 1/4", 99-119 pp., illus., price, 25¢.

**ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

1976-3

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society/Volume LXIX/Number 1/February 1976/Contents/2 An Illinois First Family: The Reminiscences of Clara Matteson Doolittle/James T. Hickey/17 The Lincoln Writings of Charles P. T. Chiniquy/Joseph George, Jr./26 A Commentary on Morality: Lincoln, Justin H. Smith, and the Mexican War/Ramón Eduardo Ruiz/35 European Interventionism and the Crisis of 1862/Norman A. Graebner/46 John Hay and the Union Generals/George Monteiro/67 Lincolniana: A Glimpse of Lincoln in 1864/J. Hubley Ashton/70 Manuscript Acquisitions/Paul D. Spence/76 Book Reviews/80 Picture Credits/Cover: Architect's drawing of the Executive Mansion, Springfield—Graham, O'Shea and Wisnosky, architects; Albert Francik, artist/Copyright, Illinois State Historical Society, 1976 (3645-2-76) (Device) 14 Printed by Authority of the State of Illinois/(Abraham Lincoln Issue)/

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9 1/2" x 7 1/2", 80 pp., illus., price, \$ 3.50.

**KUNKEL, MABEL**

1976-4

Abraham Lincoln:/Unforgettable American/By/Mabel Kunkel/"The proof of his hold upon the minds and hearts of men is all around us."/—Mearns/The Delmar Company/Charlotte, North Carolina/[Copyright 1976 by Mabel Kunkel. All rights reserved.]

Book, cloth, 11 1/4" x 8 3/4", fr., xxiv p., 448 pp., illus., price, \$ 15.00.

**LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY**

1976-5

Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Spring, 1976/Vol. 78,

No. 1/Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./[Harrogate, Tenn.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 10 1/8" x 7 1/8", 40 pp., illus., price per single issue, \$ 2.50.

**PETERSON, JAMES A.**

(1976)-6

Thomas Lincoln/A Gentleman/From the Papers of/James A. Peterson/White Oaks Farm/Yorkville, Illinois/(Cover title)/

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9" x 6", 16 pp., illus.

**PETERSON, JAMES A.**

1976-7

Abraham Lincoln/Some Kentucky Background/Compiled and written by/James A. Peterson/White Oaks Farm/Yorkville, Illinois/1976/

Book, cloth, 11 1/4" x 8 3/4", 79 (11) pp., illus. Limited edition of 200 numbered copies individually inscribed for presentation only of which this is number 52. First edition.

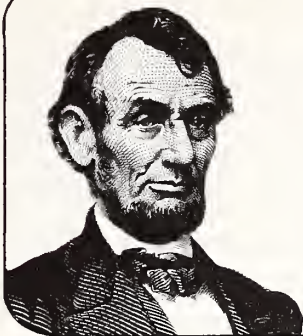
**LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION**

1976-8

Lincoln Lore/Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month/by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801./Number 1655, January 1976 to Number 1660, June 1976.

Folder, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", 4 pp., illus. Number 1655, "The Image of America in Caricature and Cartoon," January 1976; Number 1656, Lincoln historiography: News And Notes, February 1976; Number 1657, Lincoln and "Civil Religion," March 1976; Number 1658, Lincoln And The War Democrats: A Review, April 1976; Number 1659, Barondess/Lincoln Award to Floyd E. Risvold for Weichmann Assassination Account, May 1976; Number 1660, Did Lincoln Cause Logan's Defeat?, June 1976.





# Lincoln Lore

August, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.  
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the  
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1710

## BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865

The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is sponsoring an exhibit of popular prints of Abraham Lincoln in the Cannon Office Building of the House of Representatives in February and March of 1981. The exhibit, nestled in the arches of the handsome rotunda of the Cannon Building, is open to the public and free of charge. The customary traffic in this building consists of people who are themselves politicians, who work for politicians, or who call on politicians, and the exhibit naturally focuses on Lincoln's political image.

The heyday of public relations and propaganda arrived only with the First World War, and America's nineteenth-century Presidents had little awareness of the powers of conscious image-making. The Lincoln administration, which at its height had a White House staff of three secretaries, employed none of the elaborate apparatus of modern image-conscious politicians. Imagery was the province of, among others, the popular printmakers of the day.

Abraham Lincoln and the graphic arts in America grew up together. Neither took much notice of the other until 1860, when Lincoln became the Republican nominee for President. Suddenly the Republican party needed pictures of him for campaign posters, and the voters wanted to know what he looked like. Lincoln's looks were an issue well before most people had seen a picture of him, for it was widely rumored that he was ugly. Lincoln was genuinely modest about his looks, and he took notice of the graphic arts only when they were forced upon his attention. He rarely commented on the various portraits of him produced after he became a national political figure. He confessed that he knew "nothing" of such matters, that he had an "unpracticed eye," and that he was, in truth, "a very indifferent judge" of the artistic merits of efforts to capture his likeness.

Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 surprised nearly everyone. The first mass-produced likeness of him, an engraving by F. H. Brown of Chicago, appeared only at the nominating convention itself. Lincoln had been so seldom photographed before 1860 that

the printmaker had to copy his likeness from a photograph taken in Chicago in 1857, a photograph noted for the disorderly appearance of Lincoln's hair. Printmakers needed more photographs of the candidate and more gentlemanly poses. Numerous sittings for photographers and for painters with commissions from Republican patrons demanding that they make the candidate "good looking whether the original would justify it or not" soon solved the problem of models from which the printmakers could work, and the great process of Presidential image-making began.

Popular prints relied on sentimentalism, sensationalism, and satire. Sensational pictures of fires and other disasters had helped make lithography a growth industry in the 1840s, and, during Lincoln's Presidency, the printmakers would capitalize on battle scenes to continue this form of appeal. Sentimentalism, however, was the dominant motif of popular prints, just as it dominated popular literature. Politics lent

themselves more to satire than sentiment, and Presidential campaigns always boosted the cartoon industry. In the end, nevertheless, sentimentalism triumphed — a victory so complete that the political cartoons of Lincoln still appear a little strange to us.

They appear strange, too, because the nature of the art of political cartooning was quite different in Lincoln's era from that of today. For one thing, cartoons were a part of the print business. Most were poster cartoons issued as separate prints by firms like Currier & Ives, more famous today for nostalgic landscapes and sentimental genre pictures. These firms put business ahead of politics and produced both pro- and anti-Lincoln cartoons. Sometimes the same artist produced cartoons on both sides of a political question. Louis Maurer (1832-1932) drew both "Honest Abe Taking Them on the Half Shell," predicting that Lincoln would gobble up the Democratic politicians grown fat from their long years in office, and "The Rail Candidate," one of the better anti-Lincoln cartoons of the campaign. Another difference from modern political art is that cartoonists did not go in for



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. How the people first saw Lincoln.





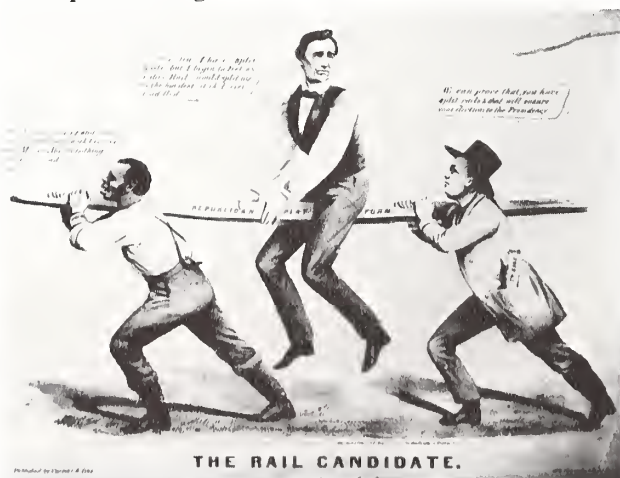
From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 2. Louis Maurer guessed at Lincoln's grin.**

caricature, which dominates modern political cartoons. Instead of exaggerating physical features which characterized a politician's face, they copied the faces slavishly from available photographs. Maurer's "Honest Abe" is adventuresome in attempting to depict Lincoln's smile. Lincoln never smiled in his photographs, and to this day no one knows what his teeth looked like. Humor usually stemmed only from the improbable situations in which the cartoonists placed the politicians or from balloons of language, often filled with obscure puns.

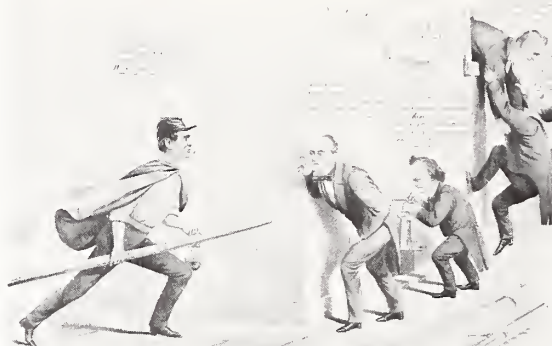
The political cartoons of Lincoln's day were not forward-looking in terms of method. They are, therefore, all the better as documents of the social and political beliefs of that era. They are cluttered with figures and words, and the social stereotypes in the backgrounds of the cartoons are a vivid index of the lowest common denominator of public opinion.

In 1860 the cartoonists, their pens ready to attack William H. Seward, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, were as astonished as most American voters were at Lincoln's nomination. Like the voters, they knew almost nothing about him. They seized with alacrity on the few available scraps of colorful information about Lincoln. Republicans touted Lincoln as the "Railsplitter," and a rail became essential in Lincoln cartoons. He was often depicted in a workingman's blouse rather than the customary coat and tie of most candidates, but, no matter the attire, he almost always had a rail handy. He might use his rail to fend off candidates trying to break into the White House; he might exercise on it; or he might use it to drive the wildcat of sectional discord back into the Republican bag.

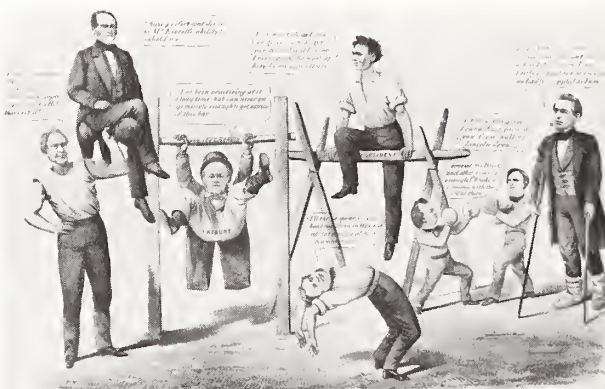


From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 3. Maurer put the anti-Lincoln elements together in their simplest form.**



**STORMING THE CASTLE**  
OLD ABE ON GUARD.



**THE POLITICAL GYMNASIUM.**



**LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG!!**

From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 4. Railing at the candidate.**

The standard anti-Lincoln cartoon in 1860 contained four elements: Lincoln, a rail, Horace Greeley, and a black man. Greeley was a cartoonist's delight, almost a self-caricature. The moon-faced outspoken reformer wore a long white duster, its pockets crammed with pamphlets and papers. Over the years, Greeley had flirted with a myriad of reforms, some of them quite radical, and he came to symbolize the crank reformer on the enthusiastic lunatic fringe of the Republican party. His presence in the cartoons was a reminder of the allegedly dangerous and radical impulses in the Republican party.

One need not look long at political cartoons in Lincoln's era to see evidence of the pervasive racism of nineteenth-century American popular opinion. The presence of black men, women, girls, boys, and babies in Lincoln cartoons was meant





From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 5. Adalbert Volck was among the best.**

to stand as a warning of the racial results of Republican anti-slavery policies.

Lincoln was so little known that cartoonists assumed he was a nonentity who would dance to the tune of more powerful figures in the Republican party. Often, he was not even the central figure in their busy cartoons, and Lincoln's failure to take over the central spot in these cartoons is an unconscious sign of the artists' inability to take him seriously. What seemed serious was the threat that the reform impulse represented by Greeley and the Negro might at last seize control of the country on the coattails of this unobjectionable but innocuous candidate.

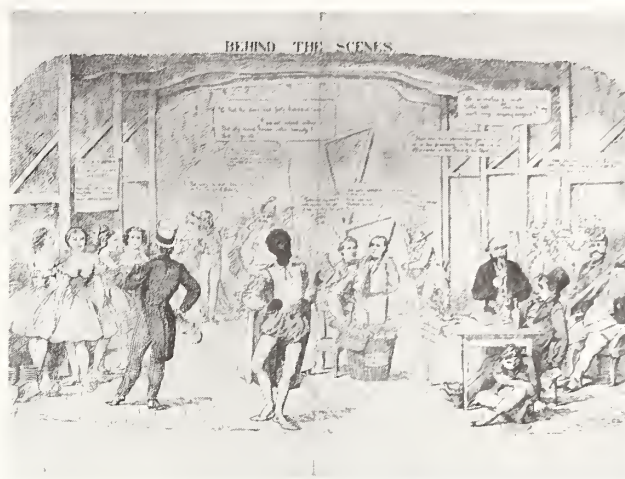
The greatest satirical talent in American graphic art in Lincoln's day was located in the camp of the opposition. Adalbert Johann Volck (1828-1912) was a Baltimore dentist who had come to the United States from Bavaria. He probably received some training in the graphic arts in Europe, as did many other American artists in Lincoln's day, but Baltimore shaped his political opinions. Maryland, though it did not secede, was a slave state, and opposition to the Republican party in the state was virulent. Volck was decidedly pro-Southern and loathed the Lincoln administration.

Volck's considerable technical skills as an etcher were united with a sharp satirical eye. In one of the most brilliantly conceived and skillfully executed prints of the period, Volck pictured Lincoln as a hopelessly idealistic Don Quixote, carrying a John Brown pike instead of a lance, accompanied by that sordid reminder of Northern materialism, Benjamin



From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 6. Literary allusions were common.**



From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

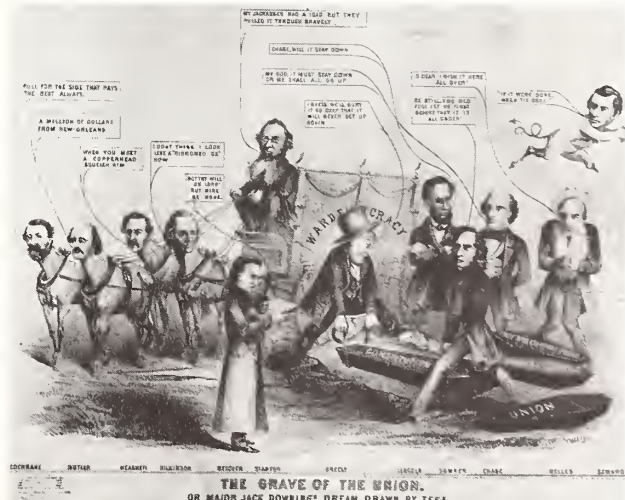
**FIGURE 7. Benjamin Butler is Falstaff.**

F. Butler, as Sancho Panza, complete with stolen Southern cutlery in his belt. Volck's cartoons also played on fevered fears of doom for the white race if the North were victorious in the Civil War.

Volck's work is sometimes carelessly thought of as Confederate cartoons, the only vigorous Southern counterpart of Thomas Nast's pro-Republican cartoons in the North. In truth, Nast was very young and not particularly active during the Civil War, and Volck's satirical etchings were really Copperhead cartoons, the product of anti-Lincoln sentiment in the North. Volck was apparently never arrested for producing the prints nor for his more treasonous activities like smuggling spies and medicines to the Confederacy. His art stands as a visual embodiment of the political atmosphere which led a group of Maryland men (and one D. C. pharmacist's assistant) eventually to murder President Lincoln. John Wilkes Booth, a Maryland native, led the group.

By 1864 printmakers knew more about Lincoln, and their work during his bid for reelection seized on some entirely new themes. The rail was gone, and no single symbol so dominated cartoons as it had done four years earlier. Its nearest competitor was Lincoln's reputation for telling jokes. This quality endears him to twentieth-century Americans, but it was less clearly a political asset in Lincoln's earnest Victorian era. Cartoonists frequently attacked him as a mere frontier joker — too small for the job of President.

Two of the better cartoons of the 1864 campaign capitalized on Lincoln's reputation as a lover of Shakespeare's works. J. H. Howard depicted Lincoln's Democratic rival for the Presidency, George B. McClellan, as Hamlet, holding the

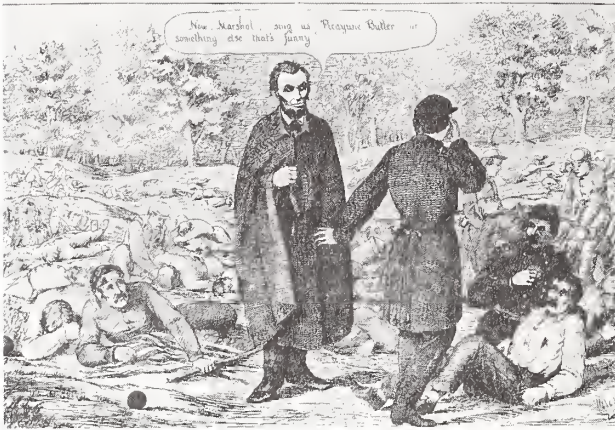


From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 8. A crowded but effective cartoon.**



T. COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF reflecting on SOLDIER'S VOTES in the Ball Field



From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 9. A cartoon for the ugly mood of 1864.

skull of Lincoln as Yorick and asking, "Where be your gibes now?" Thus the artist combined his knowledge of Lincoln's reputation for joking and for reading Shakespeare's works. Another cartoonist moved away from merely associating Lincoln with black people to turning Lincoln into a black man himself. Shakespeare provided the artful mechanism for doing so: the cartoonist depicted Lincoln as Othello. This print lacked the simplicity of conception of Howard's cartoon, but the crowded stage contained other figures who symbolized controversial acts of the Lincoln administration. Secretary of State Seward, seated at Lincoln's left, had once been in charge of arrests of disloyal persons in the North. Rumor had it that Seward had once boasted to the English ambassador that he could ring a little bell and cause the arrest of anyone in the United States.

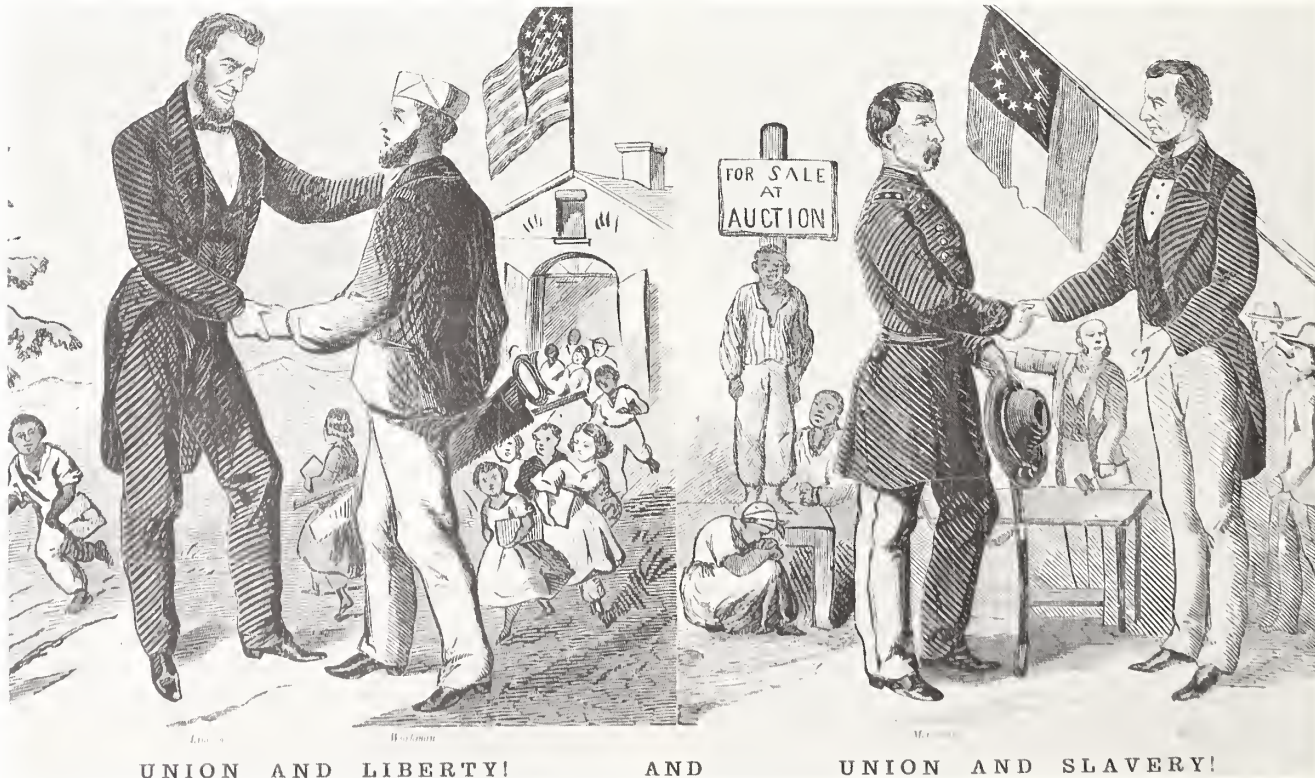
The story about Seward was doubtless untrue, but its fame was revealing of the anxiety aroused by the suspension of some traditional American liberties in the North during the Civil War. The Democrats were bereft of their traditional

appeals to economic discontent by high wartime employment. Lincoln frustrated some of their appeals to racism by claiming that the Emancipation Proclamation was essential to provide the man power necessary to win the war. The issue of civil liberties was about the only one left in the Democratic arsenal. "The Grave of the Union" added to the traditional figures of Lincoln, Greeley, and a black baby (under Henry Ward Beecher's arm), portraits of those "War Democrats" who served the Lincoln administration, most notably the driver of the hearse, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

Lincoln's reputation for humor did not prevent the creation of sinister images of the President. The story that Lincoln had asked his friend Ward Hill Lamon to sing a vulgar and humorous tune on a visit to the Antietam battlefield led to one of the most darkly effective anti-Lincoln cartoons of the Civil War. In truth, Lincoln asked for the tune to cheer him up after the gloomy visit. He was miles from the battlefield when the event occurred. All the bodies on the field had been buried long ago. The spurious charge was so effective, however, that Lincoln prepared a long letter for the press explaining the event. In the end, he decided not to issue it, and the story was not effectively scotched until 1895 when Lamon published a facsimile of Lincoln's letter in his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*.

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought rapid (and, unfortunately, temporary) changes in the customary depiction of black people in popular art. "Union and Liberty! And Union and Slavery!" contained the common message of Republican cartoons that McClellan's election was tantamount to a victory for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. It also contained in the background an unusual depiction of racial harmony, as white and black children emerged from a school. Such an image was unthinkable four years earlier.

This issue of *Lincoln Lore* has focused principally on the satirical vein in popular prints of Lincoln. There was a sentimental counterattack, and the next issue will focus on those prints in the exhibit which made Lincoln's image what it is today. In the meantime, if you happen to be in the Washington area, please drop by the Cannon Office Building to view "BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE: Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865."



UNION AND LIBERTY!

AND

UNION AND SLAVERY!

From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 10. This appeal to the white workingman contains an unusual vision of racial harmony.





